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Bible Study Textbook Series

The Bible As Literature:

AN INTRODUCTION

BY

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PUBLISHERS' ANNOUNCEMENT

FOR some time past there has been a growing conviction of the need of a more complete and comprehensive study of the Bible in all the colleges. Quite recently the matter has received new emphasis and practical direction. A complete course of Bible study has been outlined by a joint committee representing the Eastern and Western sections of the Association of College Instructors in the Bible, the departments of colleges and universities and of teacher training of the Religious Education Association, the Student Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., and Sunday School Council. The proposed curriculum is not merely a theoretical outline but has already been tested, in part, at some of the leading colleges of the country.

The complete course will include the following books: "Old Testament History," by Prof. Ismar J. Peritz, of Syracuse University; "New Testament History," by Dr. Harris Franklin Rall, President of Iliff School of Theology; "The Bible as Literature," by Prof. Irving F. Wood and Prof. Elihu Grant, of Smith College; "Social Institutions and Ideals of the Bible," by Prof. Theodore G. Soares, University of Chicago; and "The History, Principles and Methods of Religious Education," by Prof. F. H. Swift, University of Minnesota.

The publishers take pleasure in announcing that the volumes on New Testament History and The Bible as Literature are now ready. Professor Peritz's volume on Old Testament History will be published in time for use during the second half of the college year 1914-1915, and the remaining volumes by Professors Soares and Swift in time for the opening of the 1915-1916 college year. These books have been prepared with a view to the requirements of the college course and the needs of the student. The

authors are acknowledged experts in their respective fields—scholars and teachers of wide repute. The publishers cordially commend this course to the attention of Bible students and teachers everywhere.

THE ABINGDON PRESS.

PREFACE

THIS book is designed to be an Introduction to the Literature of the Bible, and is primarily intended for use in college classes. This fixes at once certain limitations. It excludes the technical terms and the discussion of detailed points of criticism which properly appear in the many biblical introductions written for the use of those with more training. It is an introduction to the biblical literature rather than to biblical history or theology. It attempts to give such information as will make it possible for the student to enter upon our literary heritage in the Bible. That the Bible is literature is no longer a novel idea, as it was to many a short generation ago, but how to learn to appreciate its literary qualities is not always clear even to some of its most devoted readers. Our rightful emphasis on its religious value has obscured its literary character. Bible study in the college classroom will serve to place the Bible in its proper position as a body of literature. When we learn to appreciate the Bible as literature we are better able to discover its true religious value.

The object of college study of biblical literature is very simple. It is to enable the student to read the English Bible with intelligent appreciation. He must understand what the writer wished to say. This involves knowing something of the type of literature, the historical background, the author's point of view and purpose, and the division and literary structure of the books. Such information ought to be given to the student in as clear and compact a form as possible, in order that his time may chiefly be reserved for the reading of the Bible itself. The writers of this Introduction have tried to produce a book which would send students to the Bible. The topics and assignments appended to the chap-

ters are designed to gather up the results of the students reading. They are usually more full than would be required by a class which covers the Bible in a single year, and furnish a variety from which the teacher may select. Most teachers will wish to make changes and additions to the list. They should usually be assigned in advance, and answers or discussions may be presented in oral or in written form. It is not intended that the student shall answer simply from the text, but that he shall look up the subjects further by reading in the Bible and in the books named at the end of the volume. Paraphrasing is suggested as a frequent exercise in the earlier lessons, because no task so challenges the student's comprehension of an author. How much of each of the biblical books should be read in the course will depend on the time at command, but at least enough should be read to give familiarity with its style and content. It is necessary to read with care nearly the whole of Job and of each of Paul's letters in order to get the points of view, but even in those writings there are certain parts of preeminent value. If this Introduction is used as a basis for study not of the whole Bible but of biblical masterpieces, then more time can be given to the separate books. Such masterpieces would include Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Second Isaiah, some of the stories from Genesis, Judges, Samuel, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, Jonah, Daniel, The Synoptic Gospels, Acts, Galatians, Romans, First Corinthians, Hebrews, and James. This includes the greatest examples of the different kinds of literature and the pivotal books of the Hebrew and Christian religions.

This Introduction attempts to place before the student the main lines of biblical interpretation as accepted by the common consent of modern scholars.

It would manifestly be impossible to note all variations of opinion among even scholars of repute, but the writers have tried to keep to the main highways of the subject.

Since this is a study of the literature of the Bible, there is no need for the discussion of the doctrines of inspiration or revelation. No one can make such a plea for the Bible as the Bible itself makes, when read with sympathy and scholarly appreciation. It is a fact, not a theological theory, that the religious value of the Bible is immeasurably greater than that of any other literature in the world. Nor does the literary study of the Bible lead away from its religious value. On the contrary, it leads by the surest and safest path directly to this value.

The order of study in this book is, in the main, chronological. The first great group of literature to arise was the prophetic. It is convenient to begin the study with this, because (1) it furnishes the point of view from which the books from Genesis to Kings were written. The purpose of these latter books cannot be fully understood without a knowledge of the ideals of the prophets. (2) The prophetic books are, when once the historical background is understood, very simple and clear. (3) Their religious conceptions are the foundations on which our own religious ideals are built. (4) They furnish excellent introductions to problems of the composition and growth of books, which appear in more complicated form in the historical books.

While the writers have given each other criticism and suggestion, each is responsible for his own part. Mr. Wood has written the Old Testament portion and the treatment of the book of Revelation. Mr. Grant has written the New Testament portion, except the book of Revelation, and has loaned the use of his classroom notes for the introductory chapter. The book is the outcome of many years of Bible teaching in college. The hope is that it may be of real value to other teachers.

Smith College, 1914.

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PART I

THE OLD TESTAMENT

INTRODUCTION

THE Hebrews, who belonged to a race that was kindred with the Assyrians, the Syrians, and much of the Babylonian stock, were a small people coming comparatively late upon the scene of Asiatic history. They were related to the Arabs, and some think that their earliest home was in Arabia. By the time they came to anything like settled possession of Palestine they had mingled so freely with races and tribes and in the civilization of the times that they were a sturdy and persistent nation able to use the best that Egypt or Babylon could suggest, and, moreover, able to stamp the blend with the mark of a powerful personality.

Palestine was a place athwart the paths of the life of the ancient world. The roads between Egypt and the East went through this country. Part of Palestine where these roads lay was low and fertile and part was rough and mountainous, but none of it was far away from the caravan routes of commerce. Of course so long as the Hebrews were weak they had to accept the poorer part of the land, while the Philistines controlled the best and took toll of the business that went through the country. Later, as the Hebrews grew stronger, they spread more over the land, which in its whole extent was not as large as the State of Massachusetts. When from a precarious hold and a divided tribal existence the Hebrews, now called Israel, passed to political union they became a monarchy under Saul, David, and Solomon. These three reigns illustrate very well the rise, climax, and decay of a petty kingdom. After the death of Solomon the kingdom split into two. The house of David continued to rule in the southern kingdom, which was called Judah, while a rival series of dynasties ruled in the northern kingdom of Israel. The northern kingdom was the richer

but also the more turbulent and came to an end one hundred and thirty-five years earlier than the other.

When did literary records begin to be written in Israel? We must observe certain cautions in approaching this question. In the first place, we know that literary interest and its products are slow in appearing among a people. Literature must always wait upon life, and, so far as known, the literary result can only follow the living fact. When we read a narrative of an event, for instance, we should seek for principles that will guide us in determining the difference in time between the event and the description. This time may vary all the way from a few minutes to many centuries. Second, we have to recognize the practice of writing, re-writing, and editing former records or other literary productions. Strange as it may seem, no generation of literary people is wholly satisfied with the literary work of its predecessors. Especially in such matters as historical narrative, legal codification, and statements of intellectual attitude every age insists on its own version or edition. This is not merely with the purpose of including new materials, but with the desire to make the former statements meet the needs of present conditions.

Without much doubt we have fragments of Hebrew literature that antedate David. They indicate a lost literature of whose extent we can only guess. We can be a little more certain concerning the nature of that very early literature from the examples which we possess. As with so many peoples, it seems to have been poetical and to have included ballads and proverbial matter. Besides this there may have been early mythical tales, quaint legends, and popular philosophy. All of this material may have existed in oral tradition a long time before the state of culture suggested a literary form of it.

Thus it is not a question as to when the knowledge of writing existed in the world, for we know that in Egypt and in Babylonia literary culture was possessed long before

history knows of any such people as the Hebrews. But our question is, When did the Hebrews rise to the consciousness and ability that made literary composition possible with them? Even then the bulk of the nation's life and activity would never reach literary expression. At first only a few possess the skill to write and only the most precious interests are recorded. Perhaps that is the reason why early literature is usually poetry. People did not in those days put the prose of their common talk into the sacred mystery of writing.

The few precious fragments of early literature of the Hebrews reveal their rough and warlike mind, their love of a good story, the pathos of their sorrow, and their instinctive fellowship with nature.

As time went on, their literature grew till the nation had a large body of writings. Much of it was religious. Those interested in the religious life of the nation felt its value. Gradually it acquired a peculiar sacredness. Men felt that through these books God spoke to them, and that the writings were different from common books. The final result was a canon, or collection of sacred books. It had no distinct title, but was called the Torah (or Law, from its first part) or the Sacred Writings. The full title expressed the three divisions of the collection: The Law, the Prophets, and the Writings.

The contents of the three divisions are:

- I. *The Law*: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy.
- II. *The Prophets*: A. The former prophets: Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings. B. The latter prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, "The Twelve" (the minor prophets).
- III. *The Writings*: Psalms, Proverbs, Job, "The Five Rolls" (Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther), Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles.

No single authority ever made a canon; councils could only register the belief which had already risen. The

Hebrew canon was long in the process of formation. The Law was regarded as sacred before 400 B. C., while at a council in Jamnia in Palestine, 90 A. D., the Rabbis were still discussing whether Esther, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon should have a place in the canon.

The Hebrew order of the canon is, in many respects, much better than that which appears in the English Bible. The difference in order between Hebrew and English is due to the work of men two thousand years ago when a translation of the Hebrew Bible was made into Greek. This was for the sake of the large number of Greek-speaking Jews in Alexandria, between the third and first centuries before Christ. The version is known as the Septuagint, usually abbreviated in writing to LXX, because of a tradition that seventy translators made it. The translators made various changes; they rearranged the books in what they considered a better order, introduced new matter into some of the books, and included certain books which had never been in the Hebrew canon. This rearranged and enlarged Greek Bible became the Bible of the early Christian Church, and was later translated into Latin as the Vulgate, or common version universally used in the Western Church. At the time of the Reformation, the Protestants excluded from their canon the LXX additions to the Hebrew text. These form the so-called Apocrypha, and contain certain books of great value, though they were never a part of the Hebrew canon. The LXX order of books was kept, and is the order of the English and other modern versions.

The successful study of any ancient collection of writings demands (1) the desire for truth and (2) the spirit of sympathy. The first is necessary to make any study scientific. The primary questions in the biblical field are: What are the facts? How did these books originate? Why were they written? What ideas did the writers intend to convey to their readers? We need here, as in all subjects of scholarship, as close an approach to the exact truth as

careful investigation can give us; only then are we able to appreciate the books in their original significance. But sympathy is also needed. No human expression, whether in literature or in art, yields up its whole meaning unless one enters into sympathy with the writer or artist. We must learn his language before we can read his thought. In contemporaneous literature, we seldom need to think of this, for the life presented is, in great measure, the life we ourselves lead. When we read a literature remote from our own time or our type of civilization, we find it necessary to make an effort to put ourselves in sympathy with the literature. The life is not ours, the ideals are often different from those we hold, and we are conscious that we must put ourselves in the position of the writer before we can justly appreciate his work. We recognize this in the case of the Greek tragedies or the Hindu dramas, or even of Dante's *Divine Comedy* or the modern Russian novelists. The same thing is true of the Bible. It represents a life far from ours in time and in civilization. Its national and social ideals are not ours; its religion, though the basis of ours, differs in many things from any form of Christianity or Judaism in the present. If we are to read the Bible with any real sympathy, we must be ready to lay aside modern notions, to avoid reading into it conceptions which are not there, and try to look at life with its writers. Above all we need such a sympathy to enable us to appreciate the religious value and message of the writings. No mere study of historical facts or literary form will lead us into the heart of these books. The supreme interest of these men was in religion. If we can enter into sympathy with their interest, we shall not be concerned because they do not speak the last word in science or philosophy. We shall see that their real message lies in the simple but great thoughts that they bring to us concerning God and man; and we shall understand why it is that men have set these writings by themselves.

THE PROPHETIC BOOKS

CHAPTER I

HEBREW PROPHECY

THE Hebrew word most often used for "prophet" means a speaker, an announcer. "The prophet is not a fore-teller, but a forthteller." He is one who has received the word of his God and speaks it to his fellows.

Prophecy did not arise first among the Hebrews. Other Semitic nations also had prophets. The story of Balaam is the tradition of a prophet outside of Israel. The queen of Ahab, Jezebel, a princess from Phœnicia, supported prophets of Baal, and the local Baals of Canaan had their prophets. Every god had his devotees, through whom he spoke to his followers. The early prophets in Israel were the devotees of Jehovah. Since Jehovah was the national God, their devotion had an element of patriotism, and they seem to have first come into prominence in Israel in the time of Samuel, when the national consciousness was growing and the people were passing from a disorganized collection of tribes to a unified nation. It is possible that this growth of a national sense may have been in great measure their work. Patriotism and national religion were only two sides of the same shield.

Early prophecy appears in the prophetic bands or communities called the "sons of the prophets." At times they were numerous, indicating a large movement. One hundred (1 Kings 18. 4) and four hundred (1 Kings 22. 6) are mentioned as being in Northern Israel. They lived together (2 Kings 2. 7-16) and thus furnished a source of inspiration for each other. They made their homes at the more famous shrines of Jehovah; at Gilgal (2 Kings 4. 38) and Bethel (2 Kings 2. 3) or at the capital, Samaria, where they might throw their influence on the side of the national religion as

against the cults of gods from abroad. They were guilds organized to develop the national religion. There is no reason to suppose that this guild of prophets was a Hebrew invention. When there were four hundred prophets of Baal in Israel at the time of Ahab, it would seem to indicate a prophetic community among them also. It was a widespread Semitic institution, used in various religions for kindred purposes.

Prophecy rests on the belief that men may do deeds and speak words under the direct inspiration of God. All religions which have held to the worship of a personal, active god have had some expression of this belief. The shaman of Central Asia, beating his drum and working himself into a frenzy; the American Indian medicine man; Socrates, with his belief in his demon; the Delphic oracle; the Mohammedan dervish, the common Christian conception of conversion are all illustrations of this same belief. Prophecy, then, does not stand isolated among the religious phenomena of the world. On the contrary, it is in its essence one of the most common elements of religion, appearing in any stage of religion and culture.

Prophecy in its earlier forms interpreted any experiences which seemed strange as coming from God. The most frequent experiences thus interpreted were dreams, visions, and any strong emotion. Any excitement which seemed to take a man outside of himself was by early races naturally ascribed to God. At first such cases were infrequent and spontaneous. These experiences became desired; later they became professionalized. Men found that the emotion could be induced by music, bodily motions, dancing, even by drugs.

Two Old Testament narratives show the prophetic communities at worship: 1 Sam 10. 10 to 12 and 19. 20 to 24. Both show worship in its cruder forms. "Prophecy" in these instances is the community worshiping together, under the lead of their head and inspired by music. The passing stranger may join it, but he is liable to be physically ex-

hausted by its efforts. The worshipers were swept out of themselves by waves of feeling, and in such a state their utterances were thought to be utterances of their God. Kindred uses of worship are found in the Greek mysteries, the Central Asian shamans, and later in the Sufi orders in Persian Islam and the various other dervish communities of the Mohammedan world. In all this kind of worship emotion rules and reason and thought are suppressed. Indeed, the most complete type of the worship is when reason and thought entirely disappear in a wild welter of emotion.

This seems very far from the clear insight, the keen perceptions, the magnificent oratory and calm statesmanship of the later prophets, who in solitude worked out their moral positions. Yet the latter grew out of the former, and the same word, "prophet," was used for both. Four things make the connection: (1) The devotion to the interest of the national God, Jehovah. (2) The confident assurance that Jehovah spoke through them. (3) The warmth of emotion which probably always accompanied this assurance. In the earlier prophets the feeling was induced by music and community inspiration; in the later, by long meditations on the moral problems of the nation. (4) The strong desire to win the nation to a more complete service of the national God.

The prophetic books contain four classes of literature: (1) The poem. Sometimes the whole book is a poem, as Nahum. Often detached poems occur in the books of oratory. (2) The oration. These might properly be called sermons. They are extracts or summaries of addresses whose object was to move the people toward some immediate moral or political course of action. As in most Semitic oratory, they were often in verse, the more intense and passionate utterances almost always rising into poetry. The greater portion of the books called in the modern Bible prophetic are composed of orations. (3) The tract, seemingly first written rather than spoken. This occurs only in the later history of prophecy. It is usually more formal

than the oration, and has less fire and passion. The best example is Malachi. (4) In the Hebrew Bible, the books of tradition and history from Joshua to 2 Kings are classed as prophetic. They are sermons in story form, showing that God has guided the history of Israel and now demands the service of his people.

The books of the prophets are among the most obscure in the Bible. (1) They are "tracts for the times." Each of them grows out of some particular historical situation. The reader must bring to the book some knowledge of Hebrew history in order to understand it; though often a very little historical knowledge is sufficient. (2) They are filled with allusions which are now strange to us. The figures, everywhere abundant in them, are drawn from a life and civilization with which ours has little in common. Most of the books are orations, and the strength of an orator lies in his immediate appeal to what is uppermost in the minds of his hearers. Oratory is almost the half of a conversation. No one hears the other half, but the orator feels it. He who later reads the oration often finds it obscure because his mind does not respond as did the minds of the hearers. (3) Most of the books of the prophets are fragments of oratory, excerpts, or summaries of speeches. We must not expect to find in such books a line of thought developing from the beginning to the end, as we do in an essay. (4) The text is sometimes corrupt. Every ancient book suffers from corruption of text, in its passage through the hands of many copyists. The books of the Old Testament have suffered no more than others; in fact, they have fared better than most ancient books, but it is not surprising that, in writings so fragmentary and obscure, there should be some passages where the text that has come down to us is imperfect. These passages are not so numerous as to obscure the main thoughts of any book. They only form occasional stumbling-blocks to the reader. (5) The books, as arranged in the Bible, are not in chronological order, nor is the

order of contents within the books themselves always chronological. Any connected study of prophecy must take the prophetic literature in the order of its production, so far as that order can be discovered. In a few cases the date of a prophetic utterance must remain, for the present, uncertain. (6) Nearly all the prophetic books contain the words of other prophets, added or inserted. Sometimes the extra material consists of only a few verses; sometimes, as in Isaiah, the greater part of the book is from other persons than the prophet whose name it bears. Occasionally bits of choice literature are thus preserved, and one is grateful alike to the anonymous authors and to the unknown editors who preserved them from oblivion.

No religious movement in the world was more important than prophecy. In the Hebrew and Christian religions it furnishes the religious basis for morals; for the worship of one God; for individual religion as over against national religion; for the conception of a personal relation between man and God. Every idea which later Judaism and Christianity cherished as essential came, at least in germ, from the prophets. The center of the religious value of the Old Testament is in the prophetic literature.

Classification of the prophets:

I. PREEXILIC. Eighth Century B. C. (Early preexilic): Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah. Seventh Century (Later preexilic): Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Jeremiah.

II. EXILIC: Ezekiel, Second Isaiah (Isa 40-66).

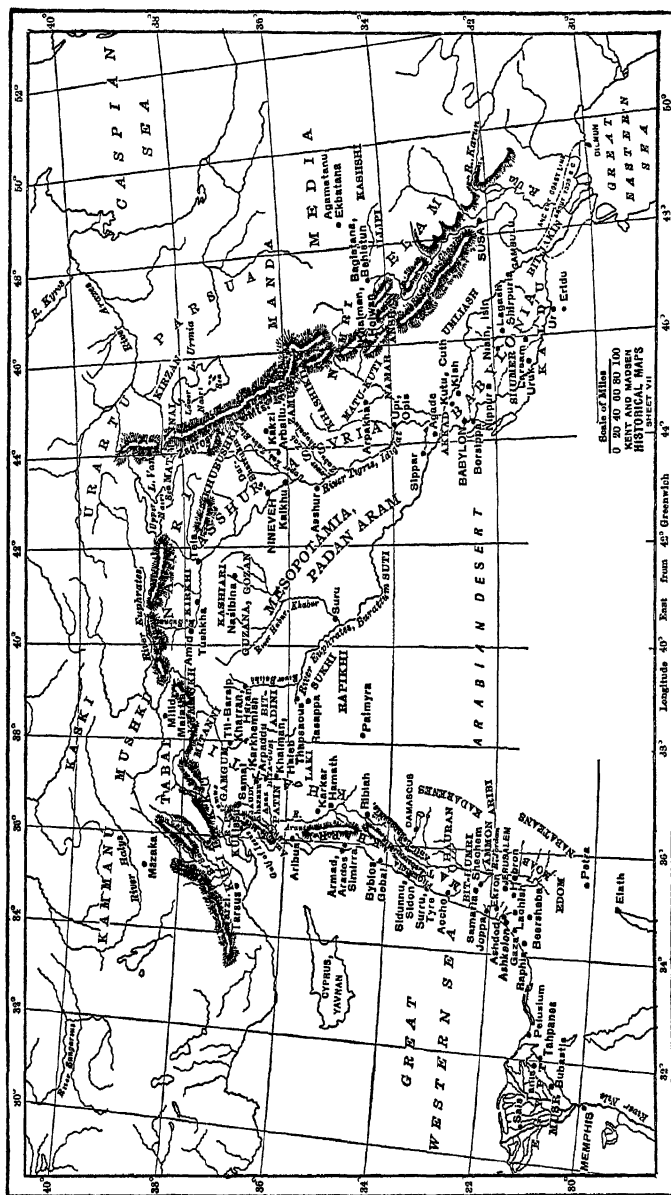
III. POSTEXILIC: Haggai, Zechariah, Obadiah, Malachi, Joel.

CHAPTER II

AMOS

THE first complete book of Hebrew literature which has come down to us is the little book of the Prophet Amos. It is scarcely more than a pamphlet. It was later gathered with eleven other prophetic pamphlets into one roll, and called The Twelve Books. The small size of these books has given them the name of the minor prophets. In importance, however, some of them are far from being minor. No one of them is greater in its literary quality or in its religious influence than Amos. No book in all the prophetic literature is more worthy of study than this little masterpiece of Hebrew oratory. Ideas appear here in germ whose full significance for life the world has hardly yet realized.

Israel's history as a nation began with the shortlived career of the united kingdom, under Saul, David, and Solomon, when in a space of scarcely more than a century Israel rose from an agglomeration of disorganized tribes to a kingdom, reaching from the borders of Egypt to the Euphrates. The tradition of this period of splendor always remained in the memory of the people, and as time passed, gathered the glamor of romance. Neither the people nor their rulers, however, had the long discipline which fits a nation for empire. After the death of Solomon the tribes, never thoroughly united, fell apart into the two kingdoms of Northern Israel (called Israel or Ephraim) and Southern Israel (Judah). Of these, Northern Israel was the richer in extent of territory, fertility of land, commercial routes and number of population. It was also richer in prophetic activity and in literature. The two greatest prophets before Amos, Elijah and Elisha, lived



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ASSYRIAN, BABYLONIAN, AND PERSIAN EMPIRES

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Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150 200
Kilometers
0 50 100 150 200
HISTORICAL MAPS
SHEET VII

Longitude 40° East from 42° Greenwich

Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150 200
Kilometers
0 50 100 150 200
HISTORICAL MAPS
SHEET VII

Longitude 40° East from 42° Greenwich

and worked in Northern Israel. The advantage lay distinctly with the Northern kingdom.

About one hundred and seventy years had passed between the division and the time of Amos. Few nations have had greater variations of fortune in that length of time than had Northern Israel. Revolutions had been numerous, changes of dynasty had been frequent. Wars and foolish rulers had sometimes brought the kingdom to the verge of extinction; and again able kings and the help of foreign alliances had lifted it into prosperity.

The time of Amos was a period of exceptional prosperity. Jeroboam II (783-743 B. C.) was king. His long reign was a time of development at home and expansion abroad. The rule of Israel extended to the Euphrates, and included the territory of Moab beyond the Dead Sea. It must have seemed to the people that the old kingdom of Solomon was about to be renewed, with Samaria instead of Jerusalem as its capital. The wealth of the nation grew with its territory. Control of the routes of trade brought commerce, and conquest brought tribute. The bazaars of Samaria were filled with luxuries from Egypt and Babylonia. Then the old simplicity of Israel began to disappear. A body of new rich arose whose wealth purchased luxury and whose avarice led to the oppression of the poorer classes. As often with the new rich, the old sense of obligation and brotherhood disappeared. The arrogance of wealth was in danger of wrecking the unity of the nation. There was no decrease, however, of the forms of religion. Northern Israel had two great historic shrines, one far in the north, at Dan, the other near the southern border, at Bethel. The southern was more famous. It was the royal shrine (Amos 7. 13) and was accessible to more people than was Dan. Other shrines also were scattered about the country, old high places at which Canaanite Baals had been worshiped long before the Hebrews came into the Palestine hills. These old Baals were still worshiped there, and on the same altars,

often by the same persons, sacrifices were also offered to Jehovah. Religion prospered and men sought the blessing of God upon wealth gathered by the oppression of their brethren. Two dangers, one external and one internal, threatened the security of their new flood of wealth. The conquest of surrounding states had been made possible by the weakness of Assyria, the country which during this period claimed lordship over the region from the Euphrates to the Red Sea. A succession of weak kings had occupied the Assyrian throne. This had given Israel the opportunity to throw off Assyrian allegiance and to subjugate the smaller neighboring states. It required no great political insight to see that whenever a strong king came to the throne of Assyria this ambitious empire would strip Israel of her dependencies, taking away her sources of wealth, and would lay upon her the burden of a heavier tribute than before. Every Hebrew must have known in his heart that the nation was moving toward this fate as inevitably as the sun toward its setting. It made a terrifying threat which any bold reformer might use. The internal danger was more subtle, but not less real, and perhaps few people saw it. It was the danger that social disunion would bring national weakness. When the inevitable invasion from Assyria should come, who would meet it? The strength of the nation lay in its peasantry, the very class now being weakened and disheartened by the oppressive arrogance of the rich. In case of invasion, its bond of brotherhood broken, its rich enfeebled by luxury and its poor by grinding poverty, its old democracy displaced by an embittered class hatred, what could the nation do but yield itself to slavery, loot, and massacre? A religious man like Amos might well say that this would be the punishment of God for the social sins of the rich. Plainly the time was ripe for a prophet.

The exact date of Amos is not given in the book. The titles of all the earlier prophetic books have a common form, and seem to be the work of those who later collected and

arranged these writings, and who are usually called editors, or redactors. The title of Amos assigns his work to the reigns of Uzziah of Judah (779-740) and Jeroboam of Israel (783-743). The editor tried to be exact by making a reference to the earthquake, but, unfortunately, the modern reader cannot date the earthquake. The exact date of Amos must rest, as often in biblical books, on inferences from the historical background. Before Amos wrote, there had been time in the reign of Jeroboam for the development of wealth and class distinctions. The extent of Israel from the entrance of Hamath to the brook of the Arabah (6. 14) indicates a period well along in the reign. The year 760 B. C. is a fairly approximate date, with a possibility that it may be as late as 750.

Amos was a peasant, a herdsman of the Judæan village Tekoah, which lay on the border of the wilderness, twelve miles south of Jerusalem (1. 1). He did not belong to the prophetic profession (7. 14-17). He combined the care of sycamore trees with his shepherding—hard work with doubtless poor pay. But the peasant was a genius. Perhaps journeys to sell wool had taken him to the marts of Israel. He had seen the wealth and the poverty of the Northern kingdom. He had the keenness to perceive its result, the boldness of a reformer to speak his convictions. He appeared at the shrine of Bethel, probably on the occasion of a feast when the town was crowded. There he poured out his invectives against the unscrupulous possessors of power. His style is lucid, compact, vigorous. He is eloquent without being verbose. Among the prophets, no one is more keen, more clear in thought and expression, than the "rustic" Amos.

The book is divided into three parts: (1) chs. 1 and 2; (2) chs. 3 to 6; (3) chs. 7 and 8.

Part I. Chapter 1. 2 is a four-line stanza, forming a text for the entire collection of extracts. After reading the book, turn back to it and see how it summarizes the contents.

Chapter 1. 3 to 2. 16 is an introductory discourse, longer and more orderly than most summaries of sermons in the prophetic books. It is a series of stanzas, each denouncing a nation for its cruelty in war, and threatening punishment. It is a very skillful piece of oratory. The prophet encircles the land of Israel with a series of denunciations of her foes. Emphasis is lent by the reiteration of the phrases. The audience must have listened to the denunciation of their enemies with pleasure. At last the same formula is used to bring a curse upon Israel (2. 6). Here the speaker dwells upon the reasons for punishment, and specifies charges of cruelty and immorality. In this stanza the prophet reaches the climax of the discourse. He asserts that the Hebrews are guilty of more inexcusable barbarity and sin than those nations to whose denunciation they have eagerly listened. The vague threats in 2. 13-16 were interpreted plainly enough by his hearers as of a threatened Assyrian invasion, and their very indefiniteness must have strengthened the impression upon the audience.

Chapter 2. 4, 5 (against Judah) may not be a part of the original oracle. The stanza is less vigorous than the others, contains phrases which belong to the later prophetic style, and deals with Judah, while the rest of the book deals with Israel.

The passage should be read as a masterpiece of oratory. In compelling the attention of the audience it may be compared with Antony's speech over the dead body of Cæsar. Notice the use of repetition; of climax; of the expanded charge against Israel in ch. 2; of the obscure reference to Assyria at the close.

Part II. Chapters 3 to 6. A series of extracts, in the main enlarging the charge against Israel in ch. 2, specifying the social crime of the rich, and threatening punishment. No one line of thought can be traced, as in chs. 1 and 2. Interruptions break in, as for example, the prophet's apology for speaking, 3. 3-8; the savage denunciation of the women

as fat cattle, who care for nothing but drink and lazy luxury, 4. 1-3. The following divisions may be made:

1. Ch. 3. 1-15. Luxury and its doom.
2. Ch. 4. 1-3. The doom of the worthless wives of oppressive men.
3. Ch. 4. 4-13. Forms of religion are vain. Punishment has already come and more is to follow.
4. Ch. 5. 1-17. The lament over Israel.
5. Ch. 5. 18-27. Woe to those who would see a "day of Jehovah!" He can only come with punishment, invasion, and exile.
6. Ch. 6. 1-14. Woe to those who fancy themselves secure in their possessions. Jehovah is preparing a nation to punish them.

Notice in reading this section the frequent recurrence of certain ideas; the satirical description of wealth (does this mark the peasant?); denunciation of the attitude of the rich toward the poor; scorn of the popular religion; morality as more religious than worship; natural calamities as punishments from God; veiled allusions to Assyria; the vigor of denunciation in it all.

Part III. Chapters 7 to 9. A series of visions with (1) a parenthetical narrative (7. 10-17), (2) a paragraph of denunciation, akin to Part II (8. 8-14), and (3) an epilogue (9. 7-15). Read the visions, noting how each is a threat of punishment, ending, like section 1, in a longer denunciation. The vision in 8. 1f. rests on a pun, *kayits* (summer fruit) suggests *ketz* (end). It is perhaps impossible to determine whether these visions were experiences of the prophet or literary devices to make more vivid his sense of God's patience and the final doom which must surely come. It would be quite natural, however, that the long brooding of this shepherd in his lonely watches should have resulted in visions. Other men have felt called to prophesy because they had such experiences. It may be that Amos left his flocks and his sycamore trees for the hostile crowds of Bethel under the impulse of these visions.

The epilogue (9. 7-15) seems to be an addition to the

book. There is no ray of hope for the future of Israel elsewhere among the extracts from Amos' speeches. He was in no mood to say smooth things to these self-satisfied people, luxuriating in their ill-gotten gain. This final section promises prosperity without stint; but, curiously enough, it is not the prosperity of Northern Israel, but of Judah. The historical situation presents Judah in exile (9. 11, 14) a condition of one hundred and fifty years after Amos's time, and restoration from this exile is promised. The thought and style are those of the prophets of the Judæan exile, not of Amos. It was probably placed here by an editor, who thought that the book would be a more just presentation of the truth about God if it showed his mercy as well as his severity. The fragment is an excellent piece of Judæan prophecy, and we may be glad it was preserved, even if out of its historical connection.

The result of Amos's work is not known. Certainly, as we see from Hosea, it produced no national reform, and probably made hardly a ripple on the current of Israel's prosperity. When that prosperity vanished, when revolutions and invasions brought war and poverty, and Israel fell before the Assyrian army, then men began to realize the truth of this peasant-prophet's insight. His words were treasured by like-minded men, and this little book of extracts became a permanent part of the literature of the nation.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Make a careful paraphrase of one of the following passages, putting all its ideas in your own language, and bringing out the emphasis of the passage on the main conceptions: 1. 1 to 2. 8; or 3. 4-12; or 8. 8-14.
2. Give a summary of the main thought of chs. 1 and 2; chs. 3 to 6.
3. State the meaning of the different visions in chs. 7 to 9.
4. What characteristics of style do you find in Amos? Note passages illustrating these characteristics.
5. Where does Amos use sarcasm and irony?
6. Read ch. 9. 9-15, and compare with the rest of the book in

main idea, style, and historical situation, to see whether it comes from Amos.

7. What was Amos's attitude toward wealth?
8. What likenesses and differences in the social problem between Israel in Amos's day and our country? Are we subject to the dangers he saw in Israel? If not, why?
9. What was Amos' solution of the social problem? Is it applicable to our time? Does it make a sufficient solution for our problems?

CHAPTER III

HOSEA

WHEN Amos spoke, Northern Israel, under Jeroboam II, was at the height of a period of prosperity. After Jeroboam's death, in 743, there was a time of confusion and revolutions. No succeeding king of Israel had the strength to place his throne upon a stable foundation. It is doubtful, however, if the personal skill of any ruler could have preserved national prosperity. In 745 Tiglath Pileser IV came to the throne of Assyria. He was an able king, and soon established his empire and turned his armies toward the rebellious west. He deprived Israel of her tributary territories, and when tribute and trade were lost, the prosperity of Israel came speedily to an end. He demanded tribute from Israel and stood ready to aid any aspirant to the throne who would promise submission to Assyria. In addition to external troubles, the selfish greed of the upper classes had destroyed the sense of unity and patriotism in the nation, so that a disheartened and embittered people fell an easy prey to either invaders from without or ambitious adventurers from within. It was a sorry ending to the splendid era of wealth and commerce under Jeroboam II, but it was the inevitable result of the disintegrating social forces which Amos had denounced.

The political confusion of the kingdom is seen in the list of kings following the long reign of Jeroboam:

Zechariah, 743, six months. Son of Jeroboam II.

Shallum, one month.

Menahem, 743-737; seated with the assistance of Assyria.

Pekahiah, 737-736, son of Menahem.

Pekah, 736-730.

Hoshea, 730-722, placed on the throne by Assyria. Later he revolted, was defeated, and the kingdom was conquered by Assyria.

The date of Hosea, like that of Amos, must be inferred from the historical background. If the judgment of the later editor who prefixed the title (1. 1) is correct, Hosea's work began before 743 and lasted till after 726 (or 716), the beginning of the reign of Hezekiah. Most of the book was written before 734. In that year Assyria deported the people of Gilead, but in 6. 8; 12. 11, Gilead is mentioned as still belonging to Israel. Hosea is also silent as to the attack of Northern Israel on Judah in 735. Much of chs. 3 to 14 seems to picture a time of anarchy and confusion, such as followed the reign of Jeroboam. The fragments from Hosea's addresses may be dated between 746 and 735. Hosea prophesied regarding Northern Israel, and, unlike Amos, was a resident of that land. He worked under the same social conditions as Amos, except that, during at least the latter part of his career, the false security of Amos's day was gone, and the ugly results of personal greed and social disunion had already begun to appear. Hosea was not a peasant. If not from the wealthy nobles of Samaria, he was at least a man of substance, belonging to the very class which Amos had so scornfully denounced.

Hosea's prophecy grew out of his personal experiences. The story is told in chs. 1 and 3 (ch. 2 is a paragraph of a prophetic sermon, making an interlude in the narrative). It is told so obscurely that many have supposed it to be merely an allegory. The tender feeling of the whole book, however, would seem to indicate that the story is a real history. Hosea had married a wife whom he calls "Gomer the daughter of Diblaim." Both names are strange, and perhaps assumed to hide the real name. After a life with him which only proved her unfaithfulness, she left him. But he could not cease loving her, and later when he found her in the market to be sold as a slave, her attractiveness gone, her career of pleasure ended, he bought her back, paying the common price of a household servant, and took her home, where she could find shelter and be his ward, even

if not worthy to be his wife. It is a story of love worthy to be the parallel of the tale of Guinevere and King Arthur.)

As he meditated upon his love for his unfaithful wife, it seemed to him that God's love for Israel was like this. He felt that it gave him a message for his people. When he came to tell the story he could see God's hand in all the events, and say that God had sent him to make this unhappy marriage. The message presents an antinomy: punishment and love. Sin must be punished; but if he, a man, cannot abandon his love for his unfaithful wife, is it possible that God can abandon his love for Israel?

These circumstances account for the most prominent literary character of this book, its expression of emotion. Few books in the Bible so vibrate with emotion as the prophecy of Hosea. This rises from several causes. (1) The tragedy of his own life was so deep that it carried its feeling over into the prophecy. The thought of the love of God for Israel, a new idea in the literature of the nation, was born out of the sadness of a human life. (2) The antinomy of inevitable punishment and unconquerable love presents an emotional situation. How can this conflict of forces be solved? (3) Hosea was not, like Amos, a foreigner, but was forced to denounce his own people.

The emotion shows itself in the style. The prophet's utterances are disconnected, passing by rapid transitions from denunciation to passionate pleading, sometimes breaking down completely into exclamation. In Amos we had the eloquence of keen reasoning. Here we have the eloquence of an overwhelming emotion. Amos calls to the stern duties of morality; Hosea, to the no less imperative duty created by love.

Since Hosea's basis of thought is the personal relation of Israel to God, like that of a wife to her husband, it is natural that he should emphasize religion, as Amos does morality. He also recognizes the social problems, but as a part of the deeper question of Israel's relation to God.

Israel is unfaithful to God, though the altars of Jehovah are loaded with sacrifices, not merely because the people also worship the Canaanite Baals, but because they rob, break contracts, oppress the poor, accept bribes in judgment, and shed the blood of the innocent. Here also we begin to meet the charge, frequent in later prophets, that the people trust their safety to treaties with other nations rather than to the strength of Jehovah (7. 11; 8. 9).

The book is even more a series of extracts than is Amos. Each chapter may be regarded as a separate section, often broken into smaller divisions. Within the sections there is seldom much progress of thought. The beginning and the end of the book are appropriate to their places, but beyond that the sections stand in no order. Some of the passages are almost hopelessly obscure, and in some cases the text is certainly corrupt. The general meaning of the various sections, however, is usually clear. Each has one or both of the two great ideas of the prophet: (1) the sin of the people and the certainty of its punishment; (2) the strong love of God which cannot let them go. In almost every section are mingled sharp denunciation and tender pleading.

Part I. Chs. 1 to 3. The narrative of the tragedy of Hosea's life, and (ch. 2) its parallel in the relation of Israel to God.

Part II. Chs. 3 to 14. Extracts from prophetic sermons.

1. Chs. 4. 1 to 7. 7, emphasis on the moral and religious decay.

2. Chs. 7. 8 to 10. 15. The political decay. Both domestic and foreign politics are such as can bring only confusion and final destruction.

3. Ch. 11. 1-11. God's unconquerable love which must finally win.

4. Chs. 11. 12 to 13. 16. Another plea for their obedience. If the persistent goodness of Jehovah is continually flouted, even his love cannot keep the people from the consequences of their sin.

5. Ch. 14. A suggestion of how the antinomy might be solved by the repentance and return of Israel. 14. 9 is an appropriate epilogue, perhaps added by an observing reader. It has no marks of Hosea's passion, but emphasizes the righteousness of Jehovah in all his acts.

The following passages are of special interest:

Ch. 5. The deep sense of Jehovah's wrong, as his people turn in contempt from his love. Ch. 6. 1-3. The shallow confidence of the people that all will come out well, and that Jehovah's anger cannot be serious. 6. 4-11. The helplessness of a people whose conception of righteousness is only ritual worship, while the very priests rob pilgrims bringing sacrifice.

Chs. 7. 8 to 8. 3. Israel is corrupted by foreign trade and alliance. As a result the nation is neither one thing nor the other. It is like a cake half baked. Israel follows foreign gods and forgets Jehovah, and the result can only be evil.

Ch. 8. 4-14. Home politics are no better, in these days of rapid revolution, than foreign. "They set up kings, but not by me." Revolutions will lead to reverses.

Ch. 9. The only result can be exile and disaster.

Ch. 11. 1-11 is the finest and most characteristic passage in the book. Love cannot be defeated. If that is true of man's love, how much more of God's? It must be that God will yet win in the conflict of love with unfaithfulness.

Ch. 14. 1-8 is a dialogue between an ideal repentant Israel and Jehovah, with his ever-ready forgiveness.

In reading Hosea, keep in mind the personal history of the prophet, which formed a background of emotion for every utterance; his patriotism, that made every denunciation of his own people cut him to the heart; his great longing for some solution of the seemingly insoluble puzzle, how justice and love could both be satisfied. See how rich a variety of expression these feelings find in the extracts from his poetic oratory.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Paraphrase one passage from the list of passages of special interest noted above.

2. Make a full statement of the progress of thought of 11, 1-11.

3. Give the meaning of the dialogue in ch. 14. Why does it make an appropriate close for the book?

4. What are the chief ideas about God, worship, the social problem, the essence of religion? Give a list of passages showing these ideas.

5. What passages in Hosea show the social and political situations?

6. Amos holds that privilege brings responsibility; Hosea, that love brings duty. Give passages in Amos and Hosea showing this.

7. Compare the ideas of Amos and Hosea on the points in Question 4.

8. Compare the style of Amos and Hosea as to clearness, force, literary beauty.

9. How does each of these two prophets bring out the great prophetic idea—sin brings punishment? Any differences?

10. What qualities conduce to excellence in a book of extracts from the utterances of one man? Does Hosea possess these qualities?

11. Which is the better literature, Amos or Hosea? Why?

CHAPTER IV

ISAIAH

THE long and prosperous reign of Jeroboam II in Northern Israel was paralleled in Judah by the equally long and prosperous reign of Uzziah (or Azariah) (779-740 B. C.) Uzziah was, like Jeroboam, a wise and energetic ruler. He developed the country, building fortifications and waging successful wars. As Israel, freed from the immediate danger of Assyrian invasion by the weakness of the kings of Assyria, had expanded to the north and east, so Judah won Edom and the other lands to the south, as far as Elath on the head of the eastern gulf of the Red Sea. This gave control of the valuable Red Sea trade through which Arabian, African, and even Indian articles passed to Damascus and other Syrian marts. As in Northern Israel, so here tribute and commerce brought a sudden accession of wealth. Here too the class of new rich became luxurious and greedy, and oppression of the poor and the loss of the ancient sense of national brotherhood soon followed. A fashion for great estates arose, and the poor people, turned from the land, faced starvation. After Uzziah's death Judah happily escaped the revolutions which caused the downfall of Northern Israel, but the two immediate successors of Uzziah, Jotham and Ahaz, were not his equals in character or kingcraft. His third successor, Hezekiah, was an able ruler and had a long and honored reign. Before the death of Uzziah, Tiglath Pileser IV of Assyria had begun to gather up the reins of authority over the western states which his weaker predecessors had been obliged to drop. Judah soon lost her dependent provinces, and with them the commerce and tribute which brought wealth. Later she suffered invasion from Assyria, with its consequent devastation and heavy

tribute, but did not, like Northern Israel, lose her national existence.

The greatest man in Judah during this period was the prophet Isaiah. His work began in the year that Uzziah died, 740 (6. 1), and continued through forty eventful years, to 701. Isaiah was a member of the upper classes. He was a resident of Jerusalem, and during his whole long career a frequenter of the court and a friend of the kings. He began, like Amos, as a prophet of social reform, but his position in court soon made his primary interest political. After his earliest period all the records of his prophetic work which have been preserved to us concern political situations. He had that insight into the logical outcome of political movements which constitutes statesmanship. The political policy he constantly urged was neutrality in the strife of neighboring states. He protested against any alliances whatever with Syria, Assyria, or Egypt. But because he was a statesman he was not less a prophet. He looked at the problems of the nation from a religious point of view. He felt that he was offering not mere political conclusions, but messages which God had given him for the nation. He held that dependence on the help of either Egypt or Assyria was unfaithfulness to Jehovah. Since the popular parties of his day were merely superficial and timeserving, Isaiah usually found himself in disagreement with them all. At times he had some influence with the court, but he could count no brilliant successes, and usually his advice was ignored, sometimes even flouted; but in spite of all, he stood out as the commanding figure in Judah. His social rank, his clear insight, and his dominant personality compelled respect. Later ages recognized him as the greatest statesman the kingdom of Judah ever produced.

Isaiah was as great in oratory as in statesmanship. He had that sublimity of imagination which English literature presents in Milton. He turned for his figures not to the homely and commonplace but to the grand and sublime. A

certain loftiness of thought is reflected in his style. His fancy dwelt upon the heights of life, and turned naturally to the large and magnificent. There are also great clearness, vigor, and compelling force in his incisive words. He furnishes the best illustration in the Bible of the splendor of a majestic style. His orations are for the most part in poetry. Even in the English translation the poetic movement is not entirely lost, for it lies in the rhythm of thought quite as much as in the rhythm of words. Yet with all the sublimity of his ideas and the beauty of his poetry, he was always a practical man of affairs.

The best preparation for the study of Isaiah is a thorough acquaintance with the work of Amos and Hosea, for Isaiah is their logical successor in social and religious teaching. Their social ideals, their insistence upon morality as superior to ritual, upon the exclusive worship of Jehovah, and the certainty of punishment of sin, are taken up by Isaiah.

The book of Isaiah is a collection of prophetic addresses and poems, with some narratives. Much of the collection is not from Isaiah. In the Isaian parts also there are certainly some interpolations, possibly many. Few books in the Bible have a more complicated origin and structure than this book. The book is divided into two main parts, chs. 1 to 39 and 40 to 66. The last is usually called Second Isaiah, and will be treated in a later chapter.

Isaiah 1 to 39, often called the First Isaiah, may be divided as follows:

A. 1. Introduction. A sermon embodying many of Isaiah's characteristic ideas.

B. Ch. 2. 1 to 11. 9. Moral and political sermons. (Isaiah's, with interpolations.)

C. Chs. 11. 10 to 14. 23. First appendix. (Not Isaiah's.)

D. Chs. 14. 24 to 23. 18. Oracles concerning the nations. (Some of these are Isaiah's.)

E. Chs. 24 to 27. Second appendix. (Not Isaiah's.)

F. Chs. 28 to 32. Political sermons. (Isaiah's, with a few interpolations.)

G. Chs. 33 to 35. Third appendix. (Not Isaiah's.)

H. Chs. 36 to 39. Historical conclusion. (Stories about Isaiah, mostly from 2 Kings.)

The book grew slowly, combined from several collections of Isaiah's utterances (see B. D. F. above), each with its appendix of other prophetic fragments (C. E. G.), to which ch. I was later prefixed. Notice how small a portion of the sections of the book contain the work of Isaiah. The divisions of the book do not indicate the chronological order of Isaiah's work, except that Isaiah's earlier prophecies are included in B.

Isaiah's work may be divided into four periods of about ten years each: 740-732, 732-722, 722-711, 711-701. From the first five years, 740 to 735, there is a body of social sermons. This division corresponds to events in the political world, each decade ending with a revolt of some of the western states against Assyria, which was always put down by Assyrian invasion.

732. Syria and Northern Israel had attempted to revolt. Damascus the capital of Syria was captured.

722. Northern Israel revolted. Assyria took Samaria, its capital.

711. A combination of Philistine cities revolted. Assyria took Ashdod, the leading city in the plot.

701. Phœnicia, Philistia, and Judah revolted. Assyria took many of their cities and besieged Jerusalem.

Note that the restlessness of the western states under the heavy demands of the Assyrian government furnishes the background of this history.

I. *The First Period, 740-732.*

1. The Social Prophecies. These consist of a narrative and two sermons. Chapter 6 is the story of Isaiah's call. Observe (1) the content; (2) the ideas expressed: the holiness of God, and the humility of man; (3) the message: "Say to the people, go on hearing, but understand not."

How long must he speak this disheartening message? Till the destruction of the land is complete (13b is not original); (4) The style; its sublimity, compactness, and clearness. It furnishes an excellent illustration of the characteristics of Isaiah's style. (5) The main thought about himself, a divine compulsion for a hopeless task. Could this passage represent the expectation of the young man at the beginning of his labor, or is it his estimate of his work after years of seeming failure?

Chapters 2 to 4. Selfish wealth and its outcome. Chapter 2. 2-4 is not Isaiah's (compare Mic 4. 1-5) nor probably 4. 2-6, which is in the style of a later time. The rest of the passage is a grim picture of present social corruptions and the inevitable results in disunion and anarchy.

Chapters 5. 1-24; 9. 8 to 10. 4; 5. 25-30. A parable and its meaning. Chapters 9. 8 to 10. 4 is seen to belong with 5. 26-30 because of its subject and refrain. The song in 5. 1, 2 was perhaps used by the young prophet to gain a hearing for himself in addressing some crowd in the open spaces of Jerusalem. It may be a popular folksong.

Chapter 5. 3-7, is the application of the song-parable. Chapter 5. 8-24 describes the social situation (compare chs. 2, 3). Chapters 9. 8 to 10. 4; 5. 25-30 is a list of punishments, past and to come. Note the climactic end, expressing Judah's terror of the nation from afar—what nation? Note the characteristics of Isaiah's style, and the magnificence of the final passage. How must the wealthy leaders of his own social class have regarded this young aristocrat pouring out these hot invectives against them? We have no means of knowing the results of the social work of this young reformer, but he evidently regarded it as without success (6. 9, 10).

2. The Political Prophecies. About 736 a movement arose among the states north of Judah to free themselves from the Assyrian yoke. North Israel and Syria were the leaders in it, and they threatened to invade Judah if it

refused to join them. Ahaz, king of Judah, was a weakling, and he and his people were panic-stricken. If they entered the plot, they were afraid of Assyria; if they did not, they were afraid of Israel and Syria. This is the background of ch. 7. Isaiah went out to meet Ahaz, who was looking after the water supply of the city in preparation for the expected siege, and tried to encourage him. His ground of encouragement is in 7. 1-9. (Verse 8b is not original. The encouragement needed is speedy, not sixty-five years distant.) He offered Ahaz a sign that Jehovah would protect him, but Ahaz declined to accept it. The reason was that already he had appealed to Assyria for help. "Yes," said Isaiah, "Assyria will help you, but that very help will desolate the land." Judah must pay for aid with heavy tribute, and invasion and poverty are brought one step nearer (7. 10-25). Notice the figures by which he appeals to the imagination. This disaster will come speedily, before a child born soon is able to know right from wrong. (Verses 14-17. "Virgin" is a wrong translation. The word means simply "a young woman.") This was his message to the king. To the people he appealed in two curious signs, designed to create public talk, and both meaning the same as the Immanuel sign (8. 1-4). They need not fear. These northern nations cannot meet Assyria on equal terms. Judah may remain neutral, neither joining the plot nor appealing to Assyria for help. Be calm, trust Jehovah, and await the issue of events. 8. 5 to 9. 1 is a series of fragments, mostly from this period. Notice references to the plot and to Judah's terror. The chapters strike the key of Isaiah's lifelong politico-religious position, which counseled neutrality between warring nations and trust in the protection of the national God. Was the neutrality a sign of cowardice, or was it the only safe course for a small nation in such circumstances?

II. *The Second Period, 732-722.* The outcome of the revolt of Israel and Syria was what might have been ex-

pected. Assyria sent her armies into the west, overran Israel and deported part of the inhabitants of Gilead, Naphtali, and the region of Galilee, seated Hoshea on the throne of Israel, took Damascus and put an end to the kingdom of Syria. The revolting kings of both countries lost their lives and heavy tribute was laid upon Israel. Judah also suffered. By appealing to Assyria, Judah had opened the door to a demand for heavier tribute. For a few years the western lands paid their taxes; then the constant drain of wealth which could ill be spared tempted to another revolt. During this time Egypt was a factor in the situation. It was plain that the civilized world was too small for two powers of the first rank. Either Egypt or Assyria must succumb. It was the policy of Egypt to foment rebellion among the vassal states of Assyria, and to keep her armies occupied so that Egypt might not be invaded. Egypt always promised the smaller states help, but seldom sent it. She was indifferent as to what became of the little states through whom she played her selfish game. The Palestinian countries were of especial importance to Egypt, for they constituted buffer states between herself and Assyria. She was jealous lest they should come into too close relations with Assyria, and continually fomented dissatisfaction. So, after a few years, Hoshea, although the creature of Assyria, was urged into rebellion. The result was the capture of Samaria in 722, the death of Hoshea, and the end of the kingdom of Israel. Assyria was tired of setting up native kings only to have them rebel. Would modern empires take the same course?

Whether Judah was implicated in this revolt it is impossible to say. Doubtless she was urged to enter it, and doubtless Isaiah's influence was thrown toward neutrality. Only one passage in Isaiah can be assigned with any certainty to this period—28. 1-22 in whole or in part. Chapter 28. 1-4 is a denunciation of Israel. Note the splendid rhetoric, the reason for denunciation, the threatened doom

(vv. 5, 6, later interpolation of hope) ; 7-22 is a like denunciation of the rulers of Judah. In 9, 10 the drunken priests and prophets deride Isaiah. "Does he think we are babies, to come to us with his gibberish?" (Verse 10 is designed to be meaningless gabble.) 11-14 is Isaiah's answer: "Jehovah will talk gibberish to you through Assyria."

III. *The Third Period, 722-711.* After the crushing Assyrian invasion the Babylonian and Palestinian states lay quiet for a few years. But before long Egypt again began her insidious scheming, and another fatuous revolt arose. This time the Philistine city, Ashdod, was the head of the confederation. Again the Assyrian army came west, and Ashdod was taken in 711. How far Judah was involved is uncertain, but that politicians were trying to draw her into the plot is evident from the one passage in Isaiah which comes from this period, ch. 20, which records Isaiah's protest. It tells of a symbolic act which must have started tongues wagging in Jerusalem, when this courtier and aristocrat appeared on the streets for a considerable time—3 years (?)—barefoot and lightly clad in garb suggesting a captive. See how he makes this act a text for a political plea.

IV. *The Fourth Period, 711-701.* Once again for some years Palestine lay prostrate under Assyrian defeat. Then again shortsighted patriotism, fed by the flatteries of Egypt, was misled into a foolish hope of freedom. The kings of Egypt promised aid. From the far east an adventurer, Merodach Baladan, who was trying to establish himself on the throne of Babylon, sent an embassy to Judah, doubtless to urge on the revolt. Hezekiah showed the resources available for war, only to be rebuked later by Isaiah, as told in Isa 39. The threat of exile to Babylon, not Nineveh, is perhaps a modification in the light of later history. (Some hold that this chapter belongs in the previous period, c. 714.) In the west there were three centers of revolt: Phœnicia, Philistia, and Judah. In spite of Isaiah's protest, Judah at

last entered the plot and even became the jailer of the king of Ekron, who, like Ahaz forty years before, refused to join and was dethroned for his loyalty to Assyria. Then the usual thing happened. The Assyrian army hastened west, attacked the conspirators before they could join forces, captured first the Phœnician cities, then those of Philistia, and at last overran the Judæan hills and besieged Jerusalem.

From this period we have two sets of Isaiah's sermons. The first set seem to have been spoken while the plot was brewing and a confident bravado prevailed in Judah. Chapters 29 to 32 give, with some interpolations, Isaiah's warnings not to enter the revolt. He begins with an announcement to Jerusalem, under a punning name "lion," or "altar-hearth," that within a year siege and disaster will come (29. 22-24, later). Chapters 30 and 31 show that Judah has already sent to Egypt for help, but it will be in vain (30. 19-26, perhaps later?). Chapter 32 (in part later) threatens destruction to the land. Notice (1) the social touches. Isaiah is still interested in social righteousness; (2) the pungent satire against Egypt; (3) the alarmist elements. Isaiah is determined to call attention to the danger in which the country is placing itself.

This protest of Isaiah was fruitless. The court was too deeply involved to withdraw. The Assyrian army besieged Lachish, southwest of Jerusalem. The confidence of the people vanished. Hezekiah the king made humble submission and paid heavily for his rebellion. Still Assyria was not satisfied. A detachment of the army was sent to Jerusalem to demand that the city be surrendered. The people became panic-stricken. There was danger that they would yield for very terror. Isaiah pleaded with them not to give up the city; he was confident that Jehovah could not allow his shrine to be ravaged. His confidence was rewarded. Although the city was besieged, the enemy retired without taking it.

While these events were going on, Isaiah was trying to

instill some courage into the terrified people. They had flouted his advice, but the old patriot would not let them fail if he could prevent it. 10. 5-24 is one of the most splendid pieces of oratory in Isaiah's writing. Notice the boasting put in the mouth of Assyria, and Isaiah's conception of the reason why Jehovah has given them this power; then the fate which will befall them (16-19). Judah also will suffer, but a remnant will be saved, while Assyria will fall (20-32); 10. 28-32 is a poetic description of an ideal march of the Assyrian army over an impassable route to the very gates of Jerusalem; but there Jehovah turns them back. "Assyria is strong, but do not fear. Jehovah will protect you." Read also 14. 24-27; 17. 12-14, seemingly fragments from the same period.

Hebrew story gives us two traditions, which the editor of Kings wove into one, and the editor of the book of Isaiah copied, chs. 36 and 37. See the two reasons for the Assyrian withdrawal: (1) rumor of trouble at home, and (2) a pestilence. Herodotus also tells of the campaign, and implies that the plague attacked a division of the army on the way to Egypt. Whatever the cause, the army withdrew from Jerusalem. Isaiah felt that his confidence in God was justified.

Isaiah's long career closed with only one definite triumph. He had not been able to keep Judah out of this disastrous revolt, but he had at least saved Jerusalem from massacre and spoil. Is it any wonder, as he looked back over his life, that he summed it up as a work in which God had sent him forth to fail? (6. 9-12.)

It was a skillful editor who placed ch. 1 at the head of the collection of Isaian prophecies. Note how it sums up in vigorous poetry the main ideas of Isaiah about Jehovah, his worship, his attitude toward the people, their attitude toward his ethical demands, the punishment of sin and "the remnant saved." The date is not easy to fix. See the condi-

tion indicated in vv. 6 to 8. This might be in 735, 722, 711 or 701.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

I. First Period

1. Compare social conditions in Isa 2, 3 and 5 with those of North Israel shown in Amos. Compare 3. 16 to 4. 1 with Amos 4. 1-3.
2. What are the main ideas about (a) God, (b) the social condition, (c) the future, in the group of social sermons (2 to 5, with 9, 8 to 10. 4)?
3. What characteristics of style in ch. 6? In the social sermons?
4. Paraphrase 2. 5-22; or 5. 1-24; or 7. 3-25. What is the meaning of "Immanuel," in 7. 14?
5. Compare Isaiah's policy of neutrality with that of the present small states of Europe—Switzerland, Belgium, Holland.
6. Divide ch. 8 into paragraphs, and give the main ideas of each paragraph.

II. Second Period

1. Paraphrase 28. 1-22.
2. Compare Isaiah's charge against Israel (28. 1-8) with those of Amos and Hosea.
3. If 28. 1-22 is a unity, what inference does Isaiah wish to draw from the events in Israel to the prospects in Judah?
4. Did Isaiah give 28. 1-4 for the sake of Israel or Judah?
5. What is the meaning and the application of the parable in ch. 28. 23-29?

III. Third Period

1. Chapter 20. Consider the value of symbolic action to attract popular attention. Compare the action in 8. 1-4.
2. What were the relations of Assyria and Egypt in Palestine in times earlier than Isaiah?

IV. Fourth Period

1. The adventures of Merodach Baladan, and the relation of Assyria and Babylonia through this general period?
2. Paraphrase either ch. 29; ch. 30. 1-18; ch. 31; or ch. 10. 5-27.
3. Compare the social references in chs. 29 to 32 with those in chs. 2, 3, 5, 28.
4. What use of sarcasm in chs. 29 to 32?
5. List the subjects considered by Isaiah in chs. 29 to 32 (omit later passages). What was Isaiah's object in these chapters?

6. Elements of persuasive oratory in chs. 10; 14. 24-27; 17. 10-14?
7. State the progress of the argument in ch. 10.

V. General Topics

1. Compare the style of Amos and Isaiah; of Hosea and Isaiah. Specify passages on which you base your answer.
2. What are the best oratorical passages? The best poetry?
3. What passages use irony, sarcasm, or mimicry of others?
4. What was Isaiah's political policy? Was it a wise policy?
5. What seems to you Isaiah's greatest quality?
6. Are Isaiah's sermons emotional or intellectual literature?
7. What were his positions as to (a) God, (b) worship, (c) relation of morals to religion, (d) relation of sin and suffering, (e) the future of Israel?
8. What were his greatest religious ideas?
9. Did Isaiah succeed or fail?
10. Study the Assyrian records of Isaiah's time, especially Sennacherib's account of his campaign. (See Rogers's *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*.)

CHAPTER V

MICAH

THE last of the group of social prophets is Micah. He was contemporary with Isaiah. Chapter I seems to indicate that the beginning of his work was about the time of the fall of Samaria, 722, so he is usually considered to be younger than Isaiah, whose work began nearly twenty years earlier. Micah is the rural counterpart of the courtier, Isaiah. His home was in Moresheth of Gath, a village of the western foothills, twenty-seven miles southwest from Jerusalem. It is a rich farming country, but, so far as we know, the writings of Micah were the only literary product of the region. The rural origin of the prophet influences his work in two directions: (1) He was concerned entirely with the social and moral question. His position in life shut him out from the political activity of Isaiah. (2) He was a peasant, and approached the problem of the oppression of the poor by the rich from an entirely different point of view from Isaiah. There is naturally a more savage virulence, more heat and bitterness in his attack on the oppressive rich. The difference between the treatment of the problem by the aristocrat of Jerusalem and the peasant of an outlying village is that often seen at present between the "parlor socialist" and the laborer in their treatments of the problem of wealth.

The social situation which Micah met was the same which we find in Northern Israel in the time of Amos, and in Judah at the beginning of the work of Isaiah. When the sources of wealth were diminished by the loss of tributary states, the rich seem to have been even more grasping and unscrupulous than before in their dealings with the helpless lower classes of their own nation. Micah uses phraseology

still in vogue in the east when he says that the rich ate the poor. Still more familiar are his terms as he tells how the ruling classes skinned them (3. 3). The literature of social controversy presents few passages more vitriolic than Micah's denunciation of the rich of his day.

The book of Micah divides into three sections: (I) chs. 1 to 3; (II) chs. 4 and 5; (III) chs. 6 and 7.

Section I. Chapters 1 to 3, the work of Micah with a few interpolations. An interesting episode in Jeremiah's life (ch. 26. 18) quotes Mic 3. 12. Notice the theme of ch. 1, punishment for the social wrongs which proceed from the two capitals, Samaria and Jerusalem. In 1. 10-15 the prophet puns on the names of the towns in his district of Judah; Gath is equivalent to "Tell"; Beth-el-ophrah, "House of dust"; Shaphir, "Beauty," etc. He saw in vision the Assyrian army pouring over the fair countryside in a devastating wave, as a result of the crimes of the great cities. 2. 1-11 is a direct attack upon the rich, who try to stop his unwelcome prophecy. God will not let him stop. They would like a man to prophesy of wealth and luxury (vv. 12, 13, an interpolated promise of restoration from exile; an exilic fragment). Chapter 3. 1-12 continues the attack on the rich. They are oppressive and unjust, and yet they think they worship God!

Section II. Whether any part of chs. 4 and 5 comes from Micah is disputed. If it does, the time of writing must be later than that of chs. 1 to 3. It is a mass of fragments, of varied authorship and date. Chapter 4. 1-5 (compare Isa 2. 2-4) gives beautiful ideals of peace. Chapters 4. 6 to 5. 15 promises deliverance of Judah by a righteous ruler, who comes not from the luxurious capital but from the country town, Bethlehem. (References to Babylon, 4. 10, must be later.)

Section III. Chapters 6 and 7 present Jehovah's controversy with Judah and his demand for righteousness. Chapter 7. 1-6 contains the prophet's sorrowful plaint of

the evil time. This section is often assigned to the reign of Manasseh, after the death of Hezekiah, when the anti-prophetic party gained control. It may be Micah's, but the style would indicate a different author. Chapter 6. 6-8 is the finest summary of prophetic teaching about religion in all prophecy. What is its definition of religion? (In 7. 7-20 a beautiful expression of trust in God, a prayer to the Good Shepherd, and a word of quiet confidence close the book. The passage is a collection of fragments, some from the exile, added to give a propitious close to a book of threatening. Compare the close of Amos.)

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. How can ch. 1 be used to date Micah?
2. The details of the charge against (a) the rich, (b) the prophets, in chs. 1 to 3.
3. Compare chs. 1 to 3 with Amos for (a) the social situation, (b) the threats, (c) style of writing.
4. 4. 1-4 and Isa 2. 2-4. Can either be borrowed from the other?
5. Paraphrase 2. 1-11; chapter 3; 6. 1-8.
6. Why cannot 2. 12, 13 and 7. 7-20 be from Micah? Note the historic background and the idea of the passages.
7. Compare Micah for vigor, strength, and literary skill with the social sermons of Isaiah.
8. What does Jer 26. 16-19 show as to the permanent influence of Micah?
9. Make a review of the group of social prophets; the social problem they met; the reason for its rise; the result in national disaster; the logical reason for that result; the religious element in their work; their solution for the social problem.
10. What elements of likeness and of difference in their problem of wealth and poverty and ours?

CHAPTER VI

ZEPHANIAH, NAHUM, AND HABBAKUK

AFTER Isaiah and Micah there was a period of about seventy-five years from which no prophetic name comes to us. This absolute silence after such a brilliant outburst of prophetic activity is most unnatural. It finds its explanation in the historical situation. Neither the people at large nor the court party had ever really supported the prophetic movement. There had always been a popular demand that the old national baals and newly imported foreign gods be allowed to share the worship of the people with Jehovah. The prophets, on the other hand, demanded the exclusive worship of Jehovah. Hezekiah, under the influence of the prophets, destroyed a brazen serpent, an ancient and venerated religious symbol (2 Kings 18. 4), and instituted other innovations. It is not surprising that opposition arose. Upon the death of Hezekiah the conservative anti-prophetic party secured possession of the young king, Manasseh, a boy of twelve years of age. Then arose an attempt to put down the prophetic party by violence. Never before in Judah had there been active persecution of the devotees of the national God, but Manasseh did not hesitate to shed the blood of the champions of his own ancestral religion. Public ministry became impossible for the prophets, and so continued during the long reign—fifty-five years—(698-643) of Manasseh, and the two years' rule of his son, Amon. When Amon was killed in one of those palace conspiracies which have played so tragic a role in Eastern courts, the prophetic party gained ascendancy. The boy king, Josiah, only eight years old, was under their control, and, like Manasseh, followed in the paths of his youthful training when he became a man. Vehement opposition to prophetic

teaching was by no means over, but prophecy was possible, and, as long as Josiah lived, had the favor of the court. The group of prophets who now arose differ in personality, in style, and somewhat in subject from the earlier prophets. On the whole, they are less brilliant, and offer fewer masterpieces of literature.

ZEPHANIAH

Zephaniah was probably a prince of the blood royal, a descendant of King Hezekiah (see 1. 1). He probably belonged to the group of reformers which included the youthful king and a young man, Jeremiah, who became a greater influence than either of the others.

The date of Zephaniah is not clearly indicated. In 1. 15-18 he threatens an invasion. In the days of Josiah the terror of the Assyrians had almost passed away, and he could hardly have referred to them. About 628 a new nation appeared on the horizon. A group of Scythian tribes poured over the mountains from the region of the Caspian upon the Mesopotamian plain, and came southwest into Palestine. This was a folk-migration, moving with families and flocks in search of new homes, and it struck terror into the minds of the people. The Scythians did not penetrate the hills of Judah, but it was natural for the prophets to take occasion of the popular fear to urge reform. The reference of Zephaniah in 1. 15-18 may be to this movement, which would fix the date at about 626.

The general theme of Zephaniah is the "day of Jehovah," when God shall judge the people. On the basis of this threat he urges reform. The original book falls into three parts: (1) Judgment upon Israel (ch. 1); (2) judgment upon other nations as well (ch. 2); (3) hope of a purified remnant of Israel (ch. 3. 1-13). (3. 14-20 is a beautiful lyric of trust, dating, at least in part, from the exilic time. Compare the end of Amos and of Micah.)

Zephaniah gives us the common prophetic idea that sin

brings punishment, and that God will at last save Israel, after the fires of purification. His peculiar development is the vivid presentation of the "day of Jehovah," and the inclusion of other nations as well as Judah in the discipline of God.

NAHUM

Nahum is concerned with a single theme—the fall of Nineveh, which was the capital of Assyria. The poem is a cry of exultation over the prospect of the destruction of the cruel and bloodthirsty Assyrian empire. The terror and hatred of Assyria may be plainly seen in the oratory of Isaiah, a hundred years before the time of Nahum. The smaller western states were powerless before her. For over a century she had ruled the states of Western Asia, draining their wealth in tribute and quenching all revolt in bloodshed and plunder. The very wars which insured her supremacy gradually weakened her by draining her best blood, until, like Rome in her last days, she stood a tottering giant, ready to fall before any strong attack. No Assyrian king was more brutal in his treatment of dependents than Assurbanipal (668-626). After his death two feeble kings followed, and the empire rapidly sank to its fall in 606. It is no wonder that, when its weakness became evident, poets in its tributary states should have exulted over its impending fall.

The limits of the date of Nahum are 666, when Thebes (No-Amon) in Egypt was taken by Assyria, and 606, when Nineveh fell. It probably comes from the latter part of this period, when attacks upon Nineveh had shown its weakness, between 624-606. The book is a poem, not an oration. It contains a marvelously vivid picture of the siege and fall of a city under ancient warfare. 1. 2-9 is a portion of an acrostic poem. It states a general principle: Jehovah will avenge his people; he is strong and able to do it. This forms an appropriate introduction to the picture of the vengeance of Jehovah on Nineveh. Since the acrostic is

imperfect and the verses do not mention Nineveh, some think this is a prefix to the poem. The rest of the book is a series of graphic, picturesque stanzas, portraying the end of Nineveh and exulting over its fall. Notice as you read how different it is from former prophecies. The prophet does not plead for reform, nor denounce sin in Israel. He does not try to influence Judah in either morals or religion. His place among the prophets, however, is justified by his conception of Jehovah as the ruler of nations and the avenger of Israel, and his use of the prophetic ethical principle that sin brings punishment.

HABAKKUK

In 606 Nineveh fell. In 605 the battle of Carchemish was fought, in which Babylon won from Egypt the supremacy over the Semitic world. This opened a new problem to prophetic thought in Judah. The prophets had confidently expected that when Assyria fell Judah would be free. Mic 5. 2-9 gives a glowing picture of a prosperous Judah, with a righteous and powerful king of its own, when Assyria should fall; but such expectations proved to be only futile dreams. With a new and vigorous empire like Babylonia in control, freedom was farther off than ever. Was Jehovah weak? If not, why did he allow the wicked to triumph? Not only in foreign matters, but at home, the problem became intense. Josiah had died in 609, and the kings who followed were men of different mold. Selfishness and injustice ruled in high places, and the prophetic party lost its influence in the court. Why did the wicked triumph and the righteous suffer? Had God forgotten the world?

The little book of Habakkuk attempts to settle this problem. Its date is after 605, but the intense feeling points to a time soon after. The prophet's general answer to the problem is given in an epigram, in 2. 4. The meaning is, "Wickedness contains within itself the germ of its own

destruction, and righteousness contains within itself the assurance of its final triumph." The old prophetic philosophy of life had been very simple. "Look about you," it had said, "and see. Sin brings suffering; righteousness brings prosperity." Life no longer seemed quite so simple. The course of history had brought a time when, as it seemed, the righteous suffered and the wicked prospered and, as often happens, he who would hold his religion must find a new theology; for the old theology no longer met the facts of life. The new theology of Habakkuk made as little change as possible. It said: "The old belief was right, only its working is not immediately visible. If you wait long enough, you will still find that the wicked suffer and the just triumph."

The order of thought in ch. 1 is not wholly clear. Read it and see if the "wicked" are Chaldeans or evil men of Judah, whose wickedness the Chaldeans will punish. Some would transfer 1. 5-11 to a place after 2. 5. If this is done, read 1. 1-4, 12-17, and see the order of thought. In ch. 2 the prophet takes his stand upon his prophetic watchtower to await the answer to his question. The answer comes, but it calls for patient waiting before its proof is seen. The answer is the epigram of 2. 4, quoted above. The rest of the chapter is the expansion of the first part of the epigram; calamity will surely come at last upon the wicked.

Chapter 3 is a psalm, appended because of the similarity of its fundamental thought to that of the book. It is a majestic expression of an abiding faith in God. The poem was borrowed from a temple hymnal, and still carries, in its superscription and subscription and the term "selah," marks of its musical use. The poet calls for a revelation of God (vv. 1, 2) and the revelation comes in the form of a vision of majesty and power (vv. 3-15). The vision brings terror, but with the terror comes also trust (vv. 16-19). The central religious thought of the poem lies in vv. 17, 18; "Even in the midst of seeming disaster, I will still trust

God." This thought forms the connection with the rest of the book, and accounts for the placing of this poem at the end of Habakkuk.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Paraphrase Zeph 1. Compare the social and religious conditions reflected in 1 and 2 with Amos and Isaiah.
2. Why is 3. 14-20 placed in the time of the exile?
3. Divide Nah 2 and 3 into stanzas, stating the subject of each.
4. In what ways does Nahum make his poem vivid?
5. Can one justify the revengeful spirit of the poem?
6. Why is the date of Habakkuk placed shortly after 605?
7. Paraphrase ch. 1 to show the order of thought.
8. Make a summary of ch. 3, showing the relation of thought between its three stanzas, 1-2, 3-15, 16-19.
9. Is Habakkuk's solution of the problem created by the suffering of the righteous a satisfactory solution?

CHAPTER VII

JEREMIAH

THE greatest among the later preexilic prophets was Jeremiah, as Isaiah had been of the earlier period. His times were more discouraging than those of Isaiah. His work began in 626, in the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign. The king was interested in reform. He repaired the temple and, when an unknown book of law, found in the temple, was brought to him he put it in force throughout the land. He had been educated by the prophetic party; a kinsman of his, Zephaniah, was a prophet, and prophetic ideals dominated the court. There was still, however, a strong antiprophetic sentiment. After Josiah's death a succession of weak kings held the throne for brief reigns, each acting in accord with the antiprophetic party. The reforms which Josiah had inaugurated were not carried out. Foreign relations were also in an unsatisfactory condition. Assyria decayed and at last fell in 606, but Babylon took her place. The problem which this set for religious faith we have seen in Habakkuk. The political problem was no less acute. Judah might have had an humble but peaceful existence as a vassal state of the Babylonian empire, but, as in Isaiah's time, Egypt was the evil genius of the Palestinian lands. She was as anxious to divert Babylon from her borders as she had been formerly to divert Assyria, and she took the same means to gain her ends. With flattery and promises of aid she tried to induce the Palestinian states to revolt. Too often she succeeded. Twice Judah rebelled against Babylon, and the latter time the kingdom was blotted out, as Northern Israel had been one hundred and fifty years before by Assyria. Jeremiah, like Isaiah, urged political neutrality, only to be flouted, and later prosecuted as a traitor to his country. The nation seemed determined to

run a course of folly which could end only in disaster. Could we expect a cheerful optimism in a prophet who lived through such times?

Jeremiah was a native of Anathoth, a village near Jerusalem. He came from a family of priests. Like Isaiah, he belonged to the aristocracy, and was throughout his career a familiar figure at court. His writings give us an unusually clear picture of his character, for he never tried to be impersonal, but stated his own feelings with the utmost sincerity. He was a man of fine sensibilities, affectionate and shrinking, yet driven by his convictions into the strife of politics. The times were against him. A staunch patriot, he was obliged to seem a cowardly traitor. Every reform in which he was interested failed, yet he bravely turned after each failure to the next duty. The perversity of the situation made him a prophet of gloomy disaster, for the people would not take the way to safety which he advised. So what might have been the gospel of Jeremiah became a dirge, and in our speech "Jeremiad" has come to mean a gloomy complaint. More than any preceding prophet he stood for a spiritual religion. He appreciated that immediate fellowship of spirit between God and man which lies behind so much that is best in the highest religions. His experience was one of personal communion with God, and his ideal for the nation was that all should be in this communion; that God should "write his law in their hearts" (31. 33f). The three dominant qualities of his work are (1) emotion, (2) a tone of sad complaint, and (3) an heroic faith that persists in doing duty, no matter what the result.

The book of Jeremiah is even more a "Life and Times" than is Isaiah. It contains more biographical matter than any other prophetic book. It is a somewhat unorganized collection of narratives and prophecies, with some interpolations unconnected with Jeremiah. Chapter 36, which tells how the nucleus of the book was formed, is the earliest

Hebrew record of the origin of a book. Read the chapter and notice the occasion for making the book, the fate of the first edition, the making of a second expanded edition. Since the object was not to record the past, but to influence the present, many of the direct historical references of the earlier sermons were omitted, and it is not always easy to date them. It is not possible to select with certainty the contents of this original book, but it is comprised, with many additions, within chs. 1 to 28 of the present book.

There are four main parts of the book.

1. Prophecies, with some narratives, nearly all in the first person, chs. 1 to 25.
2. Narratives, with some prophecies, all in the third person, chs. 26 to 45.
3. Prophecies about foreign nations, chs. 46 to 51.
4. Narrative (copied from 2 Kings 24. 18 to 25. 30) ch. 52.

The first three parts seem to have been originally independent. Further, there are an unusual number of headings within the parts: as 7. 1; 14. 1; 21. 1; 25. 1, etc. It may be that some, if not all, of these indicate original separate booklets, like the present minor prophets, later combined into a great book of Jeremiah. Some of them contain peculiarities of vocabulary which mark an independent origin. The gradual growth of the book is further shown by the relation of the Hebrew and the Septuagint versions. The Septuagint often differs somewhat from the Hebrew text which has come down to us, but in Jeremiah the differences are remarkable. About a fifth of the book of Jeremiah differs in the two versions. This difference consists in omissions and additions and a different order for some of the same material. These variations show that as late as the translation of the LXX there were two variant editions of Jeremiah among the Hebrew people.

The style is usually plain, rising in some of the more emotional prophecies into the poetry of strong feeling. There is nothing of the lofty majesty, the magnificent

rhetoric of Isaiah. Jeremiah's speech is direct, homely, simple, tender. His charm lies in his personality. The reader is in the presence of a noble character, speaking earnestly, and such utterance always has a certain eloquence.

Jeremiah labored from 626 until after 586, a period of forty years. His career may be divided into periods corresponding to political divisions of Judah's history.

Period I. Prophecies in the Reign of Josiah, 626-609. The call of Jeremiah is told in ch. 1. Like Isaiah's call, it comes in a vision, which was written out much later. Read it as a self-revelation, showing Jeremiah's reticent nature. He saw two visions, one of which was described in punning terms (see R. V. margin). Note the homely quality, a characteristic of the plain style of Jeremiah. The vision presents no magnificent imagery, but a common tree and a kitchen pot.

The sermon in chs. 2 to 6 explains the allusion to the caldron in 1. 13. A terrible scourge is about to sweep over the land from the north. The reference is probably to the Scythian invasion, in which both Jeremiah and Zephaniah saw the wrath of God. Historical references in these chapters are vague, because these sermons were among those later revised to fit the times of the threatened Babylonian invasion (ch. 36).

In the eighteenth year of his reign, 621, Josiah, still a young man of twenty-six, began to repair the temple, which had fallen into neglect in the former reigns. The laborers brought a law book, said to have been found in the temple. There is no evidence that these laws had ever been obeyed—or even known. The king, appealing from the book to the living word of God through a prophetess, found that the prophetic party regarded the law as God's will, and began a reform on the basis of it. Read 2 Kings 22 and 23. The abolition of all worship except in one place, which was the center of the reform, is commanded in Deuteronomy. The book is called, like Deuteronomy, "the book of the covenant."

Deuteronomic expressions abound in the description of the reform in 2 Kings 23. These things make it certain that the book found was a part, perhaps a large part, of Deuteronomy. After this time we have no prophecies from Jeremiah during the rest of the reign of Josiah. A commission of priests was formed to put in force the new law, and it is likely that Jeremiah was engaged in this work. A section written later, 11. 1-17, shows that he labored for this law.

Period II. Prophecies in the Reigns of Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin, 608-597. Josiah died in a battle with the Egyptians. The Egyptians had wished to cross Judah to fight the Assyrians, but Josiah refused permission. When they persisted he met them in battle, only to be slain. One of Josiah's sons, Jehoahaz, was chosen by the people as king. His reign of only three months finds reflection in Jeremiah only in a fragment of lament over his sad fate (22. 10-12). He was deposed by the Egyptians and his half brother, Jehoiakim, put in his place (608); opponents of the prophets now came into power, and court and people alike rejected the reforms of Josiah. The first period of Jeremiah's career closed in defeat and disappointment.

Chapters 7 to 10 (except 10. 1-16) come mostly from the early part of Jehoiachin's reign. Chapter 7. 1-28 is the most vehemently indignant of all Jeremiah's sermons. This timid, shrinking man had, as such men usually have, a fiery temper when once aroused. The sermon is of especial interest because we have a summary of it in ch. 26, with an account of the result for Jeremiah.

Chapter 11. 18 to 12. 6 is an interesting fragment, revealing yet another side of Jeremiah's nature. Notice the abruptness with which it begins, evidently in the middle of a sentence. Jeremiah's kinsmen and fellow townsmen, priests of Jehovah, plotted to kill him. See the spirit of resentment in his denunciation in 11. 20 and 12. 3. Jeremiah is no meek saint, turning the other cheek when his enemies smite him.

A group of enacted prophecies shows the growth of the use of symbolism in prophecy. Chapter 13, 1-11 shows Judah is as useless to God as a rotten girdle is to a man. Chapters 18 and 19 teach that what God can make of Judah depends on Judah itself. A time comes in the history of nations when further change is impossible. Let Judah take warning. In chs. 19, 14 to 20, 18 Jeremiah attempted to preach in the temple, only to be arrested and put in prison by the chief of the temple officers. He denounced his enemies, and then broke down in a lament that he was ever born to try to set right times so out of joint (20, 7-18). This is the sort of utterance that gave Jeremiah the name of the weeping prophet. Is it surprising that he should sometimes yield to discouragement?

Meantime great events were happening. Assyria had fallen. The great battle of Carchemish had been fought, settling for generations the question whether Palestine should belong to Egypt or to Babylon. These events intimately concerned Judah, and Jeremiah, actively engaged in politics, tried to guide his country into wise courses. Doubtless we have only fragments from the many utterances of this period. After the crushing defeat of Egypt at the battle of Carchemish, Babylonian armies soon appeared in Palestine and demanded the submission of Judah. It must perforce be given, however grudgingly, but there was a strong pro-Egyptian party, as in the days of Isaiah, who stirred up discontent against this newly risen power, Babylon. Jeremiah said that the safety of Judah lay in accepting sincerely the rule of Babylon, and giving up the hope of freedom with the aid of Egypt. This seemed to many to be unpatriotic, and was the beginning of much trouble for Jeremiah.

The section of prophecies against the nations, chs. 46 to 49, begins with a poetic rhapsody in which he pictures the defeat and disaster to Egypt at Carchemish. In 46, 1-12, notice the thought that it is Jehovah who has wrought this

defeat. This prophecy was intended to weaken the trust of Judah in Egypt. In ch. 25. 1-11 he pleads directly for submission to Babylon. If they ask why Babylon is dominant, it is because of their sins. Babylon will be supreme for seventy years—a round number, as we might say, for a century (vv. 12-14, probably not at this time. “For” in v. 15 connects with 11). The rest of the chapter is a series of figures of the supremacy of Babylon over all the nations (some verses, as 30-33, perhaps interpolations). Notice the vigor of style in all the chapter, marking the positive conviction of the prophet.

But again Jeremiah failed and Judah revolted in spite of his protests. Babylonian armies appeared in Palestine, and marauding bands of neighboring nations took occasion to raid the helpless land, so that even the fragments of wandering Bedouin tribes, the gypsies of the country, sought refuge within the crowded walls of Jerusalem. Jeremiah took occasion to illustrate the religious side of the situation in ch. 35. See how dramatically he enforced his lesson: “You have been wondering why all this disaster comes; it is because of your disobedience to God. Even this wandering band understands obedience better than you do.”

Jehoiakim did not live to suffer for his revolt, and it was left for his son Jehoiachin, after a rule of three months in a besieged city, to surrender in 597. Jerusalem was not destroyed, but the leading people were deported to Babylonia. This is known as the first captivity.

Period III. Prophecies in the Reign of Zedekiah, 597-586. The Babylonians set up a new king, Zedekiah, another son of Josiah, and allowed the weakened kingdom one more chance. Most of the upper classes were deported; those left began to plot against Babylon. In ch. 24 Jeremiah, with humorous sarcasm, pours contempt on the power of the people: “With the best of the nation gone, do you think that revolt would lead to anything but disaster?” Evidently, rebellion was already discussed among this foolish

people. It was urged on both patriotic and religious grounds. Prophets claimed that Jehovah would not long keep his own people in bondage. During this whole period many of Jeremiah's enemies considered him a traitor and a heretic who had abandoned the ancient trust in the national God. Meantime, after some years of half-hearted loyalty to Babylon, Zedekiah was at last drawn into a revolution along with Edom, Moab, Amon, Tyre, and Sidon, with promised help from Egypt. The result might have been anticipated. The Babylonians invaded Judah; after a siege of three years Jerusalem fell in 586. The history of Jeremiah's attitude and its consequences for him may be found in chs. 27, 21, 28, 32. 1-15, 37. 1 to 39. 10. It is a history of lonely heroism. Imagine his position. Note how Jeremiah was obliged to seem like a traitor, how during the siege he advised the people to desert if the officials did not surrender. Is it any wonder that he was imprisoned? What would happen to a man in a modern besieged city who gave such advice? The wonder is that he was not killed out of hand.

Period IV. After the Beginning of the Exile in 586. The great lifework of Jeremiah had failed on both its political and its religious sides. Still he did not feel that his work was finished. The Babylonian government, knowing his loyalty to them, offered him the bounty of a pensioner in Babylon, if he elected to go there. To take this offer would have meant the loss of any influence with his own nation. His own people would have interpreted it as payment for calculated treason. He chose to remain with the poor of the land in Judah. A provisional government was set up at Mizpah, overlooking the ruins of Jerusalem. He felt that here lay his duty, in trying to gather the fragments of this poor crushed state. Even this he was not able to do. The governor appointed by Babylon was murdered and the people, fearing further vengeance, fled to Egypt, and compelled the protesting Jeremiah to accompany them. Even

here hostility pursued him. He protested against the sacrifice to the queen of heaven (Astarte), arguing that such things had brought on Judah all her troubles (44. 1-14). The people replied that, on the contrary, trouble began only after Josiah's reform had forbidden such worship (44. 15-19). Jeremiah could only reiterate his argument (44. 20-23). The old prophetic theology had explained all national suffering as the result of national sin. Now there came a time when the greatest national suffering had followed on the greatest reform. The new situation demanded a new theology, and, as usual, the old men could not bring it. The coming generation must meet the new problems in new ways. For the whole story, read chs. 39. 11 to 44. 30.

Jeremiah failed to accomplish what he desired, but he left a strong influence upon future generations. No prophet set his mark more indelibly upon the future religious thought of Judaism than did this man, who seemed to fail at every point of his career.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

I. In the Reign of Josiah

1. Paraphrase ch. 1. Compare Isa 6, as to style, content, and effectiveness.
2. What light does ch. 36 throw on the formation of the book?
3. Summarize ch. 6. What allusions to the national dangers?

II. In the Reign of Jehoaehim

1. Content of sermon in 7. 1-28; its outcome (ch. 26). Why should the sermon have aroused such opposition?
2. Read 2 Kings 22, 23. What was attempted in the reform? Compare Deut 12, as the basis of the reform.
3. Chapter 11. 18 to 12. 6. Paraphrase. What was the attitude of his townsmen toward Jeremiah; of Jeremiah toward them?
4. Chapters 13, 18, 19, 35. What was the prophet's use of each symbol?
5. Contrast the use of the figure of the potter and the clay in Jer 18 and in Rom 9. 19-21.
6. The expectations for the future in 25. 1-11.

III. In the Reign of Zedekiah

1. What was Jeremiah's purpose in ch. 24?
2. What are the main thoughts in chs. 27, 21, 28, 32. 1-15? What was the prophet's purpose in these sermons?
3. Chapters 37, 38. Jeremiah's position in the siege? Was it cowardice? If not, how account for it?

IV. After the Fall of Jerusalem

1. Chapters 40 to 44. What is the story of the events after the exile?
2. Paraphrase 44. 2-19. Which position was historically correct, that taken by the people or that by Jeremiah?

V. General Topics

1. Make a chronology of Jeremiah's life, using the dates 626, 621, 609, 606, 605, 597, 586. Name the events connected with these dates. Fit the chapters studied into this chronological scheme.
2. Which is the greater prophet, Jeremiah or Isaiah? Which the more interesting character?
3. What were the prominent personal qualities of Jeremiah? Give passages from his book to illustrate.
4. How would you rank the sermons of Jeremiah as literature? Compare Isaiah. Give passages to illustrate. What is the best literary production among the sermons studied?
5. A study of Jeremiah and Isaiah as illustrating subjective and objective literature.
6. Ideas of Jeremiah as to (a) God, (b) the future of Judah, (1) attempts to win national freedom, (2) relation of religion and morality.
7. Contrast the common idea that nearly all the people were taken to Babylon in the exile with the statements and figures in Jer 52. 28-30.

CHAPTER VIII

EZEKIEL

WHEN, in 597, large portions of the upper classes of Judah were deported to Babylonia, they entered upon an entirely new life. Economically and socially they fared much better than ordinary captives of oriental wars. They were not sold in the slave markets and scattered, but were treated as enforced colonists, given villages on the fertile Babylonian plain, and allowed to develop their own social and economic life as best they could. Doubtless the new conditions brought certain hardships, and the longing for friends and for the sight of the hills about Jerusalem finds occasional pathetic expression in their literature. But deeper than this homesickness, known to all emigrants the world over, and far more dangerous to the national existence, was the religious peril. Jehovah in their thought had come to be a God connected with the land of Israel. By common consent in Semitic theory, the God of the land could be worshiped only in the land. These exiles could no longer worship Jehovah, for they were in the land of other gods. Moreover, Jehovah had not been able to save his own land from invasion. Why should they cling to his memory since they could not worship him and he could not protect them? Plainly if faith in Jehovah was to be kept, new conceptions of him must be found. The old Semitic ideas would lead them to abandon their religion and with it their national ideals. Bad as the present was, the future seemed still worse. Jerusalem had been taken, but not overthrown. Should the people revolt again and the city be destroyed, that would put an end to the worship of Jehovah in the temple. Most Jews probably had too great faith in Jehovah

to believe that such a thing could happen, but suppose it should? The only conclusion would be that Jehovah was too weak to protect his own worship.

There was a young priest among the exiles, Ezekiel, a disciple of Jeremiah, who pondered these problems during five years, and then, in 592, began to give the solution as he conceived God had given it to him. At intervals for twenty-two years, till 570, he came forward with messages for the people. These messages all concerned the problem, how to hold faith in God amid the new conditions. He was, like Jeremiah, a patriot, but he could not hope to influence events in Jerusalem. His work lay entirely with the exile community in Babylonia; but he did not regard that work as unimportant. Like Jeremiah, he recognized that the exiles were the flower of the nation, and he believed that the hope of the future lay with them.

The writing of Ezekiel presents, for the first time in prophecy, not a mass of extracts and fragments but a real book, orderly and chronological in arrangement. Except 1. 2, and 3, it is all written in the first person, and is the work of Ezekiel, with few, if any, interpolations.

The style is mostly prosaic, sometimes in the more emotional parts rising into poetry. It is homely, plain, and somewhat wordy. One characteristic is the abundant use of parables, allegories, and enacted prophecy. Vision plays a large part, often evidently as a literary device. Babylonian influences affected both content and form. The Babylonian winged images appear in the visions, and the Babylonian influence is also seen in the careful scheme of dating by year and month, so different from the earlier prophetic books (see 1. 1; 8. 1; 20. 1; 24. 1; 26. 1; 29. 1, etc.

The book is in three parts:

Part I. Threats of the fall of Jerusalem. Spoken from 592 to 586. Chs. 1 to 24.

Part II. Prophecies against the nations. Various dates from 586 to 570. Chs. 25 to 32.

Part III. Promises of the restoration of the nation. (1) The restoration of the land and the nation, chs. 33 to 39, dated 584. (2) The religious cult and civil divisions in the restoration, chs. 40 to 48, dated 572.

Part I. 1. Chapters 1 to 3. Ezekiel's call. This prophet, like Jeremiah and Isaiah, embodied the story of his call to work in the form of a vision expressing his conception of God. Isaiah's vision was very simple; this one is exceedingly complex, but both express the sense of majesty, power, holiness. Ezekiel's is not pictorial but symbolic. Note how form and color are used to express power and glory. From this powerful God Ezekiel has his commission, but he has no promise of easy success.

2. Chapters 4 to 7. Symbols of the siege, capture and destruction of Jerusalem. The Jews did not believe that God would allow his city to be completely destroyed. Ezekiel affirmed that he would not only allow it but aid it. He would give the city no protection. It would be as though a plate of iron were between him and the city. Some of the symbolic actions of this passage could hardly have been performed, and must have been narrated only (4. 4-6).

3. Chapters 8 to 11. Jehovah's abandonment of Jerusalem is for a reason. The worship of him in the temple is as blasphemous as though it were idolatry. This section is a symbolic cycle of vision repeating the elements of symbolism in ch. 1.

4. Chapters 12 to 20. A collection of symbolic actions (12), parables (17) and oracles, reiterating the guilt of Jerusalem and the certainty of its fall. Chapter 17 states the political facts behind the prophecy. Zedekiah, set on the throne of Judah by Babylon, was plotting revolt, depending on the promised help of Egypt. Chapter 18 is a most important passage for the history of religion. It is the first full statement in Hebrew literature of individual religion (based on Jeremiah?). The appreciation of individual religion was the greatest step ever taken in the

history of religion. Ezekiel was driven to it by the national situation. With the temple destroyed, national worship would be gone. In the older thought national worship was the only possible way to approach God; after this coming disaster to the national religion any communion with God must be on the basis of a personal relationship. This personal relationship seems to us to be the very essence of religion. It was unknown to former times and the tragedy of the exile introduced it to Hebrew thought.

5. Chapters 20 to 24. The certainty and the justice of Jerusalem's destruction. A collection of vehement oracles, sometimes rising into passionate poetry, as in 24. 1-14. Chapter 24 comes from the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem. The people still do not believe that Jehovah will allow his city to fall, unless he is too weak to protect it. To meet this mistaken confidence, Ezekiel uses his most striking symbol (24. 15-27). His wife dies, and he goes forth the next day with no sign of mourning. So strange an action, dishonoring himself and his wife too, is a symbol. Jerusalem will fall, and those who did not believe it possible will be stupefied with despair.

Part II. Chapters 25 to 32. Prophecies against the nations. Jehovah, the God of the whole world, will punish other states as well as Israel for their insolent pride. Their destruction will be final and the way, thus cleared for a Jewish empire. One of the finest examples of the "song of doom" in literature is the elegy over Tyre, picturing its trade, its wealth, and its fall (26. 1 to 28. 19).

Part III. Chapters 33 to 48. This part follows the fall of Jerusalem, as Part I precedes it. The tone is now completely changed. Part I was entirely a threat of destruction. The danger had been that when the fall of Jerusalem came the people would suppose it meant the defeat of Jehovah. On the contrary, the prophet had said, Jehovah approved the fall of Jerusalem. Now the destruction had come. This opened a new phase of the problem.

Grant that Ezekiel's position was true, and Jehovah had abandoned Jerusalem; then that put an end to relations between Israel and Jehovah. Their God must have preferred no worship at all to that of Israel, for he had allowed his temple to be destroyed.

Ezekiel's task was to keep the people faithful to Jehovah, even if they could not offer him formal worship. He did it by trying to inspire hope for the future. This abandonment of Israel by God is not the end; he will restore the nation and its worship. The purpose of Ezekiel in this part was encouragement. He tried to sustain faith in Jehovah by picturing the future restoration of Israel.

The first section, chs. 33 to 39, presents a unity of point of view with a variety of subject. The theme is, Israel will be restored. It opens with a restatement of the prophet's feeling of his call (compare 3. 16-21). Chapter 33. 10-20 is a restatement of the principle of individual religion (compare 18). These thoughts are introductory to the general subject, which begins in 33. 21-33; Israel's sin was the cause of its disaster. Chapter 34 shows how Israel was led astray by its rulers. Now Jehovah himself will be the ruler, and will give a righteous prince. Chapter 35 affirms that Edom will not be allowed to possess the land of Israel. Chapter 36 explains that the land will be made prosperous and fertile. Chapter 37 predicts that the nation will revive, and Judah and Ephraim be united. In chs. 38, 39 is an ideal picture. Israel has been too weak to resist invasion, but in the future Jehovah will protect her. Though nations from the farthest bounds of the earth should come, he will destroy them. Note the elements of strength and vividness, but also of grotesqueness, in the figures used. From this passage much imagery was drawn by the later apocalyptic writers.

This section laid the foundations for a confident hope. It touched upon the rulers, the land, the people, and the guarantee of their safety through the power of Jehovah.

The next section, chs. 40 to 48, enters at great length into the constitution of the restored nation. The prophet here turns lawgiver, but the law is mostly ideal, representing the theory of the priests. Its center is the ritual of worship. The section describes, often in great detail, the temple, the worship, the division of the land. It connects with former prophetic thought by emphasizing the holiness of God. It shows the growing ecclesiastical spirit by exalting the priest above the layman. It closes with an ideal division of the land between the tribes, the priests, and the prince, in which the land is blocked off in strips without regard to physical facts (48). The entire section is a curious combination of lofty ideals and prosaic details. Its object is to cheer the despondent exiles, and hold them to their faith in the power of their God and in the future of their nation.

Other peoples under like conditions sometimes lost religion and nationality and disappeared from history, as did Northern Israel. The fact that Judah kept religion and national life intact was due to Ezekiel and others like him.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

I. Prophecies Before 586

1. Compare the vision of Ezek 1 with Isa 6, and with Jer 1 for likenesses and differences. Is Ezek 1 a real vision, or a literary device?

2. Read chs. 2, 3, 4. 1-8, 5, 8 to 11, 14, 15, 17, 18, 24. State the main thought of each passage; the figures used and their meaning.

II. Prophecies After 586

3. Make an outline of the thought of chs. 33, 34, 37. How do these chapters meet the religious need of the exiles?

4. Make a summary of chs. 38, 39. Is it prediction of future events or a symbol of religious confidence?

5. Chapter 47. 1-12. The meaning of the symbolism.

III. General Topics

6. Compare the purpose and the style of Parts I and III.

7. Poetic elements in the lament over Tyre, chs. 26, 27, 28.

8. In chs. 18 and 33. 1-20 what are Ezekiel's ideas concerning personal religion?

9. Compare the style of Ezekiel with that of Jeremiah; of Isaiah.

10. What are the best passages in Ezekiel as literature? What the most important for religious value?

CHAPTER IX

SECOND ISAIAH

EZEKIEL had promised a restoration of Israel. He had applied the principle of Habakkuk to the situation of the Jews: "Hold your trust in God and all will come out well. The just shall live by his faith." But to keep faith was not easy. Over twenty years passed by after the last recorded prophecy of Ezekiel, and there was no release. It was hard to keep the national religion strong. There was no temple, no sacrifice, nothing that an ancient people could call worship. All they could do was to gather in their villages and read the prophetic writings and pray to their God. Out of these circumstances grew the synagogue and the Hebrew canon. The less patriotic of the nation lost interest. The gods of Babylonia were evidently stronger than Jehovah; why not worship them? They questioned whether Jehovah was too weak to help, or too indifferent to care for them.

At last those who were watching the horizon thought they saw a ray of hope. Cyrus, a Persian by race, king of one of the small kingdoms on the Persian plateau, had begun to form a coalition of states. This was the beginning of the Medo-Persian empire. Between 550 and 546 he threatened Babylonia, and spent the next decade in enlarging the Persian realm and conquering Asia Minor. In 538 he attacked Babylonia and conquered it. During this decade the Jews, in common with other exiles, must have watched with eagerness the growth of the Persian power. Babylonia was honeycombed with discontent. When at last Cyrus made the attack, Babylonia fell with scarcely a struggle,

and the conqueror was welcomed by many of the people as a deliverer. It might be expected that some Jew would make the prevailing expectation a basis for words of encouragement and hope to the Hebrew exiles. Jehovah had promised them release; here was the sign of its coming. If they would hold faith only a little while longer, the promise would be fulfilled.

These hopes find expression in the first section of the second part of Isaiah. The writing is thoroughly objective and reveals almost nothing about the writer. The section contains poetry of unusual power, written in a spirit of deep religious and patriotic devotion; but it is not even certain that it all comes from one author. The writer is usually called, like the book, the Second Isaiah, or Deutero-Isaiah, sometimes the Great Unknown, or the Great Prophet of the exile.

The book known as Second Isaiah consists of Isaiah 40 to 66. In structure it is simply an appendix to Isaiah, but it is so large in amount, so striking as literature, and so valuable for the history of Hebrew thought that it fully deserves to be regarded as a separate book. It is different from the sermons of Isaiah in style, in thought, in historical background. It is divided into two parts: 1. Chapters 40 to 55, consolation to the exiles in Babylon; 2. Chapters 56 to 66, mingled condemnations and promises.

Part I divides into sections: 1. Chapters 40 to 48: Jehovah will soon release Israel from Babylon; he is strong, and able to do it. 2. Chapters 49 to 55: The future mission and glory of Israel. The first section is a unity, repeating the same argument in varying forms: "You think he is too weak? No, he is strong. The Babylonian gods are weak. He made the world and controls all history. Jehovah will release you. Trust a little longer, and freedom will come." This section from a purely literary point of view is the finest part of Second Isaiah. The second section continues the first with emphasis on the restored Israel rather than on the mere

fact of release. "God has glory in store for the nation, but he also assigns duties to it." This section is not so unified, has some interpolations, and is thought by many to have been written a little later, when, in 538, Cyrus had actually conquered Babylon and the release was near at hand.

Second Isaiah is poetry, not oratory. One only needs to read a chapter of each to see the difference between the style of First and Second Isaiah. The First Isaiah is incisive, compact, forceful. The Second Isaiah is fuller in statement, more argumentative, more deliberate. The First uses imagery largely drawn from nature; the Second, largely drawn from human emotions. Each is full of feeling, but the cause and the expression of it is very different. Each is the best of its sort among prophecy: the first the best oratory, the second the best poetic rhapsody.

The background of the early chapters of the book is the discouragement of the people. They do not believe that any relief is possible. The first task of the prophet is to waken their hope. He does this by emphasizing in the first section the certainty of their release. Chapter 40 begins with a trumpet call to faith. Then he passes to the thought of the power of God. This thought gives the keynote to chs. 40 to 48. Notice the proof of the power of Jehovah in vv. 12-31. Chapter 41 is a judgment scene. The question at issue is, who has raised up Cyrus (v. 2)? The answer furnishes a second proof of Jehovah's power. Notice the attitude of this writer toward the gods of Babylon; they are not gods at all; only helpless idols.

Chapter 42 introduces a new figure. Israel is Jehovah's servant; he has a mission, but has not performed it. Jehovah will release him, and then he will be able to do Jehovah's bidding. Chapter 43. 8-13 is another judgment scene between Jehovah and the idols. Chapter 44. 9-20 is a satire on idolatry. Chapter 44. 24 to 48. 22, while expressing the same ideas as chs. 40 to 44. 23, changes the point of view. There the center of thought is Israel; here it is the fall of Babylon; the

judgment of Jehovah upon her, the humiliation of her powerless gods, the exhibition of the triumphant strength of Jehovah. Notice in reading how the same themes appear again and again with varying expression, like the principal theme of a symphony. Watch for them as you read: the certainty of release, Jehovah's power, the call to faith. Are there other ideas prominent enough to be called themes? Cyrus is mentioned by name twice, 44. 28 and 45. 1 (some think the measure of verse shows the last to be an interpolation). Many other references, however, are made to him as Jehovah's instrument in the destruction of Babylon. In ch. 48 a series of verses, 2, 4, 5, 7-10, 11, 16-19, 22, with their sharp denunciation of the people, seem out of harmony with the rest of the section, and may be interpolations.

Chapters 49 to 55 begin with a further passage about the servant, 49. 1-13, emphasizing the idea that he is first despised, then triumphant. The passages which follow play on this theme of the present humiliation and future glory of Israel. In this portion of the book argument ceases and rhapsody takes its place. The section ends with three passages, each unsurpassed in the poetic utterance of great ideas—52. 13 to 53. 12, suffering crowned with glory, in the figure of the servant; 54, suffering crowned with glory, in the restored Jerusalem; 55, the people called to share in this coming glory. Note what a splendid climax it makes to the whole section.

Part II. Chapters 56 to 66. When Babylon fell the Hebrews with many other exiles were allowed to return. Only a few took advantage of the opportunity, but those who did carried back with them the high hopes and ambitions which the Second Isaiah had expressed. They carried back also the Jewish literature of the exile, and Ezekiel and the Second Isaiah were read in the reestablished Jerusalem. But the splendid predictions of the glory of restored Jerusalem did not come true. Indeed, they must have seemed little better

than tragic irony to the discouraged, poverty-stricken, religiously indifferent people, some of whom were evidently attracted to the worship of gods borrowed from their pagan neighbors. Such continued to be the situation, with varying phases of temporary encouragement, from soon after the close of the exile, 536, to the period of Nehemiah, 445. Indeed, many of the same elements lasted for long years afterward. The prophetic spirit still continued to move men to utterance, and one group of prophetic poems, because of its many affinities to Isa 40 to 55, was added to that collection (56 to 66).

Isa 56 to 66 is often called the Trito-Isaiah. It is a collection of poems on varying subjects, most, if not all, dating from after the close of the exile, and written, not in Babylon, as was 40 to 55, but in Palestine. While there is a certain unity, it is possible that the unity is of a school of writers rather than of a single author. Many echoes of the thought and style of 40 to 55 are found, so that formerly it was commonly supposed that all of 40 to 66 came from one hand. The difference, however, is plain in subject, style, purpose, and geographical situation. The exact date is impossible to recover, because the conditions revealed by the poems would fit into many periods after the exile. It is not certain that they all represent the same date. Some would put all the collection about 450. The walls of Jerusalem were still unbuilt (60. 10), which would indicate a period before Nehemiah, under whom the walls were erected. The temple, completed in 516, is mentioned (60. 7; 62. 9; 65. 11; 66. 6), but the people are despondent, their prosperity is small, their religion consists largely in externals and even to these they are indifferent. All the conditions fit into a period about 450. Most of the poems show a feeling of sadness. The times are evil. The present generation is not equal to the fathers. Men of wealth take advantage of the poor, and once again the social problem of oppressive rich and oppressed poor arises. The literary quality of these

poems is inferior to that of 40 to 55, though there is often a poetic pathos in the descriptions of the present situation, as in 59. The poems are not, however, without hope. It cannot be that God will mock his people by letting his promises fail; and so the poems turn from the present city to an ideal Jerusalem in the future, and center the attention, not so much on its political and material glory, though that is not omitted, as on its holiness. God himself will be its glory. The beautiful picture of the new Jerusalem in Rev 20, 21 is based upon the Trito-Isaiah. Chapters 60 to 62 contain the finest expression of the poet's chastened hope.

The subjects of the different poems are as follows:

1. Ch. 56. 1-8. All who keep Jehovah's Sabbath to be admitted to his worship. A brief protest against the growing Jewish exclusiveness.

2. Chs. 56. 9 to 57. 21. The present degradation of the people. The poem ends with a promise of future purification (57. 14-21).

3. Ch. 58. True and false worship. This poem, like the first, shows the poet's interest in the Sabbath.

4. Ch. 59. Present sin and future holiness. A dramatic presentation, in which the poet's denunciation is followed by the people's ideal confession (9-15), and the promises of Jehovah's favor (16-21). Some think vv. 3-15 are taken from a pre-exilic prophet, because the sins denounced are like those of the time of Jeremiah.

5. Chs. 60-62. The new Jerusalem. A glowing picture of the national hope. Notice how the ideas rest upon the predictions of Jerusalem's future glory in Isa. 40 to 55, but with even greater emphasis on the conception of the nation's holiness.

6. Ch. 63. 1-6. Jehovah's vengeance upon Edom. This is a bloodthirsty poem, full of hatred and revenge, the only passage in this section which is barbaric. The prophet glories in the vision of Jehovah coming, his garments dripping with the life blood of Edom. Compare Obadiah.

7. Chs. 63. 7 to 64. 12. Thanksgiving for ancient days; confession of present sin. A beautiful poem, whose object is to move the people to penitence.

8. Chs. 65 and 66. Promises to the faithful; threats to the apostates. The contrast between the two classes is sharply drawn, with blessing for one and doom for the other.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. List the main themes in Isa 40 to 48.
2. Make a careful outline, showing the progress of thought in Isa 40 to 44. How does the argument lead to the thought of consolation?
3. What are the differences of style between Isaiah and Second Isaiah? Use for comparison 40 to 44, and one of the sermons of Isaiah, as 10. 5-34.
4. What is the prophet's attitude toward idolatry, 40. 18-20; 41. 6, 7; 44. 9-20; 46. 1-7. Why such scorn of idolatry?
5. What passages show that the prophet is a strict monotheist?
6. List the main themes of 49 to 55. Compare those of 40 to 48.
7. Write out a summary of the servant passages, 42. 1-4; 49. 1-6; 50. 4-9; 52. 13 to 53. 12. What are the qualities of the servant (*a*) in the present, (*b*) in the future?
8. What is meant by the servant? Is it (*a*) the nation of Israel, (*b*) the prophetic party in Israel, who suffered for their religion, (*c*) some historic personage, who represented the ideal of this party, like Jeremiah, (*d*) an ideal figure, representing all or a part of Israel, (*e*) sometimes one and sometimes another of these conceptions?
9. Paraphrase chs. 52. 13 to 53. 12 fully. Study it as a literary expression of the idea of suffering for others.
10. What are the main themes in 56 to 66 (more fully than is given in subjects of the poems above). Compare themes of 40 to 55.
11. Paraphrase ch. 61, in such a way as to bring out the meaning of the passage.
12. What passages deal with the Sabbath? What is the writer's position? Had prophecy emphasized the Sabbath before? What conclusions about the growth of ritual?
13. Compare the style of chs. 56 to 66 with chs. 40 to 55. Are there any differences?

14. Judged as literature, what is the finest passage in Isa 40 to 66?
What are its literary qualities?
15. What religious results did the authors of Second Isaiah wish to attain?
16. What great religious ideas of permanent value do they present?

CHAPTER X

HAGGAI, ZECHARIAH, AND OBADIAH

IN 538 Cyrus, the king of combined Media and Persia, took Babylon. The anticipations of the Second Isaiah were fulfilled. The Assyrians and Babylonians had deported the leading classes of rebellious provinces, and this policy had filled Babylonia with disaffected peoples. Cyrus saw the evils of such a situation, and sought to win loyalty by allowing those who so desired to go back to their ancestral countries. Some of the Jews took advantage of the offer. According to the story in Ezra 2, over forty-two thousand went back, but Ezra was compiled much later, and exaggerates the number. At most, the number was not very large, nor was it composed of the best and most stable elements of the nation. After a residence of fifty years, family ties and business obligations made removal impossible for many of the people. Besides, most of them had been born in Babylonia, and a movement from that center of civilization to a barren, hilly, and remote province was not attractive, even if Palestine was the ancestral home. According to the story in Ezra, the people began enthusiastically to lay the foundations for the temple. The Samaritans requested to be allowed to join, but were refused, and in revenge procured a government order stopping the building. For sixteen years nothing further was done. The people were discouraged. The government was no longer so favorable as at the beginning. From all sides foreign settlers had crowded in upon the most desirable locations. Few Jews came back from Babylon to join the colony. Those who had been reared in the rich plain of Babylonia found agriculture on the limestone hills of Judæa a difficult labor. A series of years of famine had completed the tale of discouragements.

Neither the old Hebrew population nor the new colonists from Babylonia seem to have been of very heroic mold, and a settled despondency became prevalent.

In 521 Darius, a member of a branch of Cyrus's house, overcame a pretender who had held the throne for a time, and won the kingdom. For two years he was occupied with uprisings in all parts of the empire. Meantime in the general turmoil the insignificant province of Judah received little attention. The people could at least rely upon being unmolested. This confusion was the Jews' opportunity, and two prophets showed them how they might improve it by at last building the temple.

Nothing is known of the personality of Haggai. His book, which is written in the third person, is plain, simple, practical, very barren of the graces of style, and occupied entirely with one idea, the necessity of building the temple. Almost as little is known of Zechariah. He is thought to be a younger man than Haggai, the first message, 1. 1-6, showing something of the impatience of youth. He is more imaginative, and his book deals with a broader range of ideas, though his immediate interest is also in the temple. The effect of contact with Babylonia is shown here, as in Ezekiel, by the exact dates. The work of the two prophets overlaps, as the following table shows. The years are in the reign of Darius.

	Year	Month	Day
Haggai 1. 1-11.....	2	6	1
Haggai 1. 12-15.....	2	6	24
Haggai 2. 1-9.....	2	7	21
Zechariah 1. 1-6.....	2	8	
Haggai 2. 10-23.....	2	9	24
Zechariah 1. 7 to 6. 15.....	2	11	24
Zechariah 7. 1 to 8. 23.....	4	9	4

In August, 520, Haggai spoke, perhaps at a feast, urging the people to build the temple. He affirmed that the drought had been sent as a punishment for their selfish neglect. Three weeks later the people began to build the temple.

Haggai had succeeded, and seven weeks after his first sermon, in September, 520, he encouraged the workers with a glowing forecast of the importance of the new temple.

In the month after Haggai's second address Zechariah appeared. His first address seems to show the impatience of youth with the natural pessimism of the old. They, he felt, were hindering the work by comparisons of this temple with the former. They must leave the dead past for the living present, and heed the lesson of the failure of their ancestors to listen to God's message.

In the next month, November, 520, Haggai spoke twice in one day. The past neglect of the worship of God was really profanity, and they had come to poverty because of it (2. 10-19). In the coming great kingdom Zerubbabel will be the Messianic prince (2. 20-23).

Two months later is dated the longest and most interesting of this group of oracles. It is in the form of a cycle of visions. Haggai had prophesied that the nation would be shaken. Perhaps the impatient people had begun to question when that was coming. "Not yet," said the prophet. "Israel must first be prepared." Jehovah protects Israel (Zech 1. 18-21); he will yet make Jerusalem too great for any circle of walls that might now be built (2. 1-5). Criticism of the leaders must cease, for Jehovah stands behind them (chs. 3, 4), commercial dishonesty must disappear (ch. 5), and then Jehovah will bring in his kingdom, and the leaders of Israel shall be its princes (ch. 6). This section is an example of the use of vision as a literary device.

Two years later a question about fasts gives opportunity to discuss true and false worship and their results (chs. 7 and 8).

The people, few and poor though they were, pushed forward the building of the temple. At the end of four years it was finished. These prophets, barren in style, commonplace in thought, working among a discouraged people, accomplished what they set out to do with better success

than did the greater prophets of the earlier age. Their aim was lower; it is easier to build a temple than to reform a nation. At the same time, in the period of Haggai, a temple was a necessary rallying point for the religion of Israel.

Zech 9 to 14 is composed of two sections, chs. 9 to 11, and chs. 12 to 14, each of which has a distinct title. They have no relation to each other or to Zechariah. They are small, independent prophecies, and if they had not been anonymous, would probably have formed separate books. They seem to be among the latest products of prophecy, at least in their present form. Reference to Greece (9. 13), unless it is editorial, would place at least parts of 9 to 11 after Alexander's invasion of the east in 333 B. C.

OBADIAH

The little prophecy of Obadiah is the smallest portion of literature which retained its independence as a "book" in the Old Testament. We have seen, however, that there are shorter independent fragments of prophecy embedded in other books. This prophecy might as well be anonymous as those, for we know nothing about the author except his name. The subject is clear. It is a threat of disaster upon Edom (1 to 9) because of the barbarity which that tribe, for ages hereditary foes of Judah, showed when the Babylonians took Jerusalem (10 to 14). The last section of the book, 15 to 21, extends the principle of punishment for sin to other nations. The date of at least 10 to 14 is fixed, by the reference to the fall of Jerusalem, as soon after 586. Puzzling questions arise when it is seen that 1 to 9 is found also in Jer 49. 14 to 16, 9, 10, 7, with variations. The form in Obadiah seems to be more original, yet Jer 49 belongs to a portion of the book which is earlier than the exile. Various solutions have been offered: (1) Both copy from an older prophecy. (2) Jer 49 is not in its original form, but has been expanded on the basis of Obadiah. (3) Oba-

diah, as we have it, is expanded from a simpler form by borrowing from various sources. If that is the case, the final edition of the book may be much later than 586.

The ethical feeling of the book is clear. There is no spirit of "love your enemies." The feeling represented is like that in Nahum, an exultation in the thought of the overthrow of enemies. Many passages in the Bible show a bitter feud between Hebrews and Edomites. At the overthrow of Jerusalem the Edomites had openly exulted, and had watched the mountain passes to capture and deliver to the Babylonians any helpless Hebrew fugitives whom they might find, and we can easily account for the indignation of the prophet. The denunciation has its religious element. Sin brings suffering, and Jehovah will surely not let this evil go unpunished. The spirit, though religious, is barbaric, but can it not be paralleled in the feeling of many a modern Christian nation toward its hereditary foes?

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Make a summary of the messages of Haggai, more fully than is given in the text.
2. What is the meaning of each of the visions of Zechariah? Were they real visions, or devices for literary effect?
3. The main subjects of Zech 9 to 11, 12 to 14. What is the picture of the future of Jerusalem in 14?
4. Compare the style of these prophets with the pre-exilic prophets as to beauty and force.
5. Compare the emphasis on morals in these prophets with the emphasis in Amos and Hosea.
6. Read Obadiah, and compare its spirit with that of Nahum.

CHAPTER XI

MALACHI AND JOEL

THE enthusiasm which arose from building the temple, under the impulse given by Haggai and Zechariah, lasted for only a little while. Those prophets had promised revolutions and triumph to Israel and the glory of the temple. They had expected this soon, and had indicated the governor, Zerubbabel, as the prince of the new Jewish kingdom. The people had accepted these promises literally, and demanded an immediate and literal fulfillment. That fulfillment did not come. Instead of glory, there was only the old struggle with poverty and famine at home and with unfriendly neighbors abroad. The worship in the temple, built with so much enthusiasm, became a burden heavy to bear. They begrudged the animals for sacrifice. No one would serve in the temple except for pay. They lost faith in Jehovah and planned to insure safety by combining with the nations about. Samaritans, Philistines, Idumeans, and Arabs had pressed into Judæan territory, and the Jews won their friendship by intermarrying with them. The people grew discouraged with their national religion. Jehovah seemed never to reward his worshipers, and they began to question whether there was any profit in serving him.

From some time during this period of discouragement comes the book of Malachi. We know nothing of its author, not even his name. The word "Malachi" means "my messenger," and is placed in the title because of its use in 3. 1. The book is anonymous, and is one of the three appendices added to the Book of the Twelve Prophets (compare the editorial titles in Zech 9. 1; 11. 1; Mal 1. 1). The date can only be determined by the general historical background. The book of Nehemiah shows that the same condition pre-

veiled in his time. The date of Nehemiah's visit to Jerusalem is 444. The date of Ezra's visit is uncertain; the traditional dating is 458, but it may be as late as 390. An approximate date for Malachi is 475, though the exact date might be earlier, or even as late as 440.

The book is different from any other prophecy. The author is partly scribe. He cares much for the temple service and the ritual law. It is, unlike earlier books, a tract rather than a sermon. Its style is prosaic, very plain and simple. It has one peculiarity of style; the argument proceeds by a dialectic of question and answer. As the Platonic dialogue reflects the free discussion within the groves of Athens, so perhaps this dialectic reflects the rabbinical discussions. The method of argument is not intended to produce knowledge but to secure action. It is not so much instruction as assertion. The book has, in its simplicity and directness, the force of an earnest utterance strongly expressed.

The book is divided into seven parts:

Part I. Ch. 1. 1-5 states the general principle of the book; God loves Israel.

Part II. Chs. 1. 6 to 2. 9: Israel has been ungrateful for his love. Both priests and people have found his worship a burden and have tried to outwit Jehovah, as though he were a hard master.

Part III. Ch. 2. 10-16: They have made foreign marriages, for some of which it was necessary even to divorce Hebrew wives.

Part IV. Chs. 2. 17 to 3. 6: They question whether the wicked are not as well off as the good; but Jehovah will show them the difference in his day of judgment.

Part V. Ch. 3. 7-12. The people have deprived Jehovah of his dues; he has deprived them of prosperity. If they change their attitude, he will change his.

Part VI. Chs. 3. 13 to 4. 3: repeats the thought of Part IV.

Part VII. Ch. 4. 4-6 is the conclusion. Doubtless Jehovah

will turn the people to himself, but it can be by no ordinary means. They are so sunk in discouragement that only a great prophet, like Elijah of old, could lift them out of it. Is Malachi himself discouraged by the situation?

JOEL

If Malachi is to be dated before 444, his work was followed soon after by a vigorous reform. Nehemiah built the city walls, and tried to inspire the disheartened people with courage. He brought about the dissolution of the foreign marriages, sending back the foreign wives with their children. He insisted that the priestly law be strictly obeyed. Hebrew tradition, embodied in the book of Ezra, tells how he was anticipated in this reform by the scribe Ezra. However that may be, there was a great reform in a strictly Puritan spirit. But such religious reforms always leave a large part of the people untouched in heart. They must usually be carried through by force, and many of those who conform do so only outwardly. The spirit which made older conditions possible still persists, ready to spring forth on occasion. It was so in the England of Cromwell's day, and also in the Judah of Nehemiah's time. Discouragement and distrust in Jehovah was still the common mood. Evils of various sorts were frequent in the nation. The people still needed reform, and they needed encouragement even more. The growing emphasis on the element of encouragement was one of the means which gradually transformed prophecy into apocalypse. The older type of prophetic literature, however, with its emphasis on reform, still lingered on. Malachi does not mark its close. The fact that Malachi stands at the end of the Old Testament in the English Bible has no significance as to its relative date. Many books in the Hebrew Scriptures are later than Malachi.

The date of the book of Joel has been subject to an unusual amount of controversy. It has long been seen that it must either be very early or else very late, for it has

no reference to Assyria or Babylonia, nor to the great movements of history which occupied the thought of the prophets from Amos to the Second Isaiah. The earlier scholars placed it before Amos; the later scholars, on the ground of language and historical references, after the exile. Some would put it before Malachi, or about his time; some put it after. A good approximate date is about 350, with possibly some insertions from a later time. One argument for dating it later than Malachi is that we find indifference to the temple worship replaced by a great interest in the offerings.

The style of the book bears many resemblances to that of the earlier prophecy. Joel was a careful student of the older prophetic writings. There are twenty distinct imitations or quotations of those writings, ranging over almost the entire prophetic field from Amos to Malachi, and there is more eloquence and vigor than in the other postexilic prophets.

The book is divided into two parts.

Part I. Ch. 1. 1 to 2. 17 is a call to a fast of penitence. The occasion is a plague of locusts, which have devastated the land. Ch. 2. 18 forms the transition to the second part. The people repent and Jehovah forgives them.

Part II. Chs. 2. 19 to 3. 21 is the second sermon. The destruction of the army of locusts will be followed by prosperity. Then the author (or an editor) passes from the particular to the general, and promises a great "day of Jehovah," with an immediate personal communion between God and Israel, and the destruction of all Israel's foes (2. 28 to 3. 21). The figures of this section were used freely by later apocalyptic writers.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Read Malachi, making an analysis of the argument.
2. Paraphrase 1. 6 to 2. 9.
3. Collect the examples of dialectic in the book, showing what the writer wishes to prove in each instance.
4. What was the social and religious condition of the people as shown by the book?

5. What was the attitude of the author toward the temple and the law? Compare earlier prophets, as Isa 1. 10-17; Amos 5. 21-24. Why the differences?
6. Make an analysis of Joel, showing the order of thought.
7. What is Joel's attitude toward the temple and its worship? Compare Malachi.
8. Paraphrase 2. 28 to 3. 2, interpreting the figures into their meaning.

THE BOOKS OF NARRATIVE

CHAPTER XII

THE BOOKS OF NARRATIVE

IN the English Bible, one of the largest groups of books is the collection usually known as historical, including those from Genesis to 2 Chronicles, with the exception of Ruth. In the Hebrew Bible, these books do not stand together. They are arranged in three groups: the Torah (law) which is the Pentateuch; the Former Prophets, from Joshua to 2 Kings; and the books of Chronicles, which stand at the very end of the Bible, with Ezra and Nehemiah, which stand immediately before them. The books are as various as their places in the canon. It is a far cry from the simple, popular stories embodied in Genesis to the artificial view of history which the late priestly writer of Chronicles presents. They contain the earliest and also almost the latest products of Hebrew thought in the Bible. They present a unity in two respects: (1) They are all written for a religious purpose. (2) They are all written by compilation from earlier writings. This method of writing may be seen most clearly in Chronicles, where the writer has used as one of his sources the books of Samuel and Kings. Compare 1 Chron 21 and 2 Sam 24. Notice how the author has not rewritten the story, but has borrowed it, yet with changes. Some of the changes are startling, as in v. 1, where the Chronicles writer ascribes to Satan what his source ascribed to God. Many other passages will show the same kind of borrowing with changes. Compare 2 Chron 23 and 2 Kings 11; 2 Chron 28 and 2 Kings 16. In other cases the same material is copied into two books from earlier sources. The writers of Judges and of Joshua have used the same source in Judg 2. 6-10 and Josh 24. 28-31, but with change of order. These passages

show us how the Hebrew story writers worked; they borrowed from older sources.

Where a modern writer would read, assimilate and rewrite in his own words, the Hebrew writers compiled, copying in part word for word. This method is a great advantage for the literary study of the Bible, because it enables us to go back of the books themselves to the earlier sources used, and so to carry our study of the literature into a remoter antiquity.

If a writer used two or more sources in making up a book, there are certain results which we should expect. (1) We should expect duplicate narratives, with occasional slight discrepancies, very difficult to explain if it all came from one author, quite natural if it came from different sources. (2) We should expect varieties of style, vocabulary, and point of view in the sources. (3) We should expect to be able, by means of characteristics of style, vocabulary, and point of view, to reconstruct the sources, so far as they were used by the author, and to be able to describe their content, literary qualities, and purpose. (4) We should expect to be able to discover the matter which the final writer had added, if any, and to find his purpose in compiling the book. These things can be done with a harmony of the Gospels, or with Chronicles, where we can check our results by examination of the sources themselves. In the case of Samuel, Kings, and the earlier books of the Bible we have no sources available, but a careful reading shows all the qualities of books formed by compilation. (1) We find duplicate narratives, with occasional discrepancies. There are, among many other duplicates, two narratives of creation, of the naming of Beersheba, of the crossing of the Red Sea, of the crossing of Jordan, of the choice of Saul as king; and each presents certain discrepancies difficult to explain if coming from one writer, but, if the stories come from different sources, creating no more difficulty than do kindred discrepancies between the Gospel narratives. (2) We find

that these duplicate stories differ in style, vocabulary, and point of view. (3) We are able to pick out by means of their common style, vocabulary, and point of view, those stories which must have come from the same source, and in that way to reconstruct large portions of the source, and to describe its qualities and its point of view. One of the stories of the Flood, for example, has the same qualities and uses the same terms as Gen 1; the other the same as Gen 2. Further reading shows that the same qualities are in other narratives and that one group of stories must belong to the same source as Gen 1; another to the same source as Gen 2. Putting each group of stories together, we are able to see the characteristics of the source from which they came, and infer the purpose of the author. For example, compare the picturesque vividness and the naïve simplicity of the conception of God in Gen 2 and 3, and 11. 1-11. Are they not from the same source? Compare the repetitions of formulæ in Gen 1 and 5 and Exod 1. 1-7. Can these passages be from the same source as Gen 2 and 3? Even the casual reader sees certain striking differences between the groups. (4) A more careful study reveals certain passages where the final writer has made changes, often to join the separate stories into a unity. The writer of Kings has, at the end of each reign, named his sources. Most of the writers leave their sources unnamed. Present scholars designate these sources by names suggestive of some of their characteristics.

The books from Genesis to Joshua have been studied, with regard to their origin and sources, longer and more carefully than any other portion of the Bible. Groups of stories with the same style and purpose can be traced through the whole series of books, showing that certain sources must have been used throughout. The sources used in the compilation have been designated as follows:

J, a prophetic book, using Jahveh (whence the name) as the name of God, probably written in Judah to teach moral and religious truth. Vivid, picturesque, clear, a very fine collection of

stories, with a little law. (Jahveh is translated *Lord* in the English versions, except the American Revision, where it is Jehovah.)

E, a prophetic book, using Elohim (whence the name) as the name of God until Exod 3. 14, when the name Jahveh was revealed to Moses. A prophetic book, written in North Israel (Ephraim), and, like J, teaching moral and religious lessons. Its style is in general much like J but not quite so vivid and picturesque. (Elohim is translated God in the English versions.)

P, a priestly document, using Elohim as the name of God until Exod 6. 2, when the name Jahveh is revealed to Moses. The writer was interested in the ritual and the laws. The style is formal, precise, not picturesque, easily distinguished from J and E.

D, Deuteronomy. This book, while not entirely a unity, is written from a uniform point of view and style. It deals chiefly with laws and customs, emphasizes the necessity of the worship of Jehovah alone, and is full of exhortation to keep "the laws and the statutes and the ordinances." The point of view is that of the prophet turned lawgiver. The style is repetitious, persuasive, hortatory.

In addition to the four sources, the editors who compiled the books have inserted some phrases of connection and made certain changes and substitutions in the interests of smoothness of narration. The additions of the editors are called **R** (Redactor).

The date of the sources can be fixed only approximately. J was written soon after the division of the kingdom of Israel which followed the death of Solomon. Its date may be 900. E bears marks of a little later development of thought. It is usually placed at 850, a century before the work of Amos. Some time within the next century the two were compiled into one book, known as JE, by an editor (RJE). The nucleus of Deuteronomy was brought into prominence in 621 and was perhaps written within the half century preceding. P was the slow growth of centuries, but took final form in the period after the exile, before 450. Editors working in the spirit and style of D (RD) and of P (RP) made notes and additions to many parts of the text.* Their work may be discovered by characteristics of style and thought. The whole was compiled into a single work before

444, for at that date it was brought into Palestine from Babylonia, and made the official law book of the nation.

As the same sources seem to run through the six books from Genesis to Joshua, and the books have also a common purpose, they are now often taken together and called the Hexateuch.

The editors who made the Hexateuch were religious patriots filled with the prophetic spirit. They were disciples of Ezekiel and the Second Isaiah. They wished to keep Israel faithful to the worship of Jehovah amid the temptations of the postexilic period. Instead of preaching sermons, however, they turned their thought back toward the past. If Israel could only realize how their very existence as a nation was due to Jehovah, they would surely see that the national life could not proceed without him. The nation already possessed books which told the story. These might easily be interwoven, and so edited as to teach the great lesson of the nation's relation to its God.

The object of the compilers was primarily not to narrate history, nor to preserve ancient legends and traditions, but to teach the religious lesson that God guided the foundation of Israel. This purpose is not seen if one reads only stories here and there, but it becomes clear when the outline of the Hexateuch, as a whole, is considered. Genesis gives stories of the tribal beginnings of the nation, telling how God guided their ancestors through good and ill, till at last they were brought to Egypt. Exodus begins with a turn of fortune which left the Hebrews slaves in Egypt, but tells how God led them out and gave them laws and a ritual in the wilderness south of Palestine. Leviticus is entirely occupied with laws. Numbers narrates the tradition of a generation spent in the wilderness, of further laws divinely given, and of the approach to Palestine through the land east of the Jordan. Deuteronomy is a further collection of laws with the tradition of the death of the leader, Moses, at the end. Joshua gives the tradition of the divinely guided

conquest of Palestine, and the completed work leaves the nation in possession of its land. All the periods of the formation of the nation have been, according to the traditions, guided by God. The story of the past had its lesson for the present. If God so guided the nation in the past, should they not serve and trust him now?

The writers of the sources J, E, D, and P also wrote to teach religious lessons. J and E had the same purpose. It was in part to teach the same lesson that the final editors later had in mind—God guided the formation of the nation. In part it was the general lesson of the early prophets—sin brings punishment. This is the main point of the stories of Eden, of the Flood, of the tower of Babel, and of Sodom. It plays a large part in the cycles of stories of Jacob and Joseph. J and E have taken old stories, and, with wonderful skill, have made them teach religious truth.

The purpose of the writers of D is also prophetic. They had been impressed with the danger that the worship of Jehovah might be obscured and even displaced by that of other gods. The book of Deuteronomy throbs with a passionate desire to hold the people to the worship of their national God. God's care for them, his love freely given, the appeal to the sense of gratitude, the demand for holiness because he is holy, fill the book. The authors say nothing about themselves, but the book speaks strongly of their sense of God's love for Israel, and their confidence that national prosperity is inseparably linked with his worship.

The writer of P also had a religious purpose. To him, as a priest, religion was wrapped up in the ritual. God revealed himself through sacrifices and other ceremonies of religion. He had given the people a law, and those who obeyed the law stood near to him. This writer also turned back to the ancient stories of the nation. Here lay the origin of the rites; and he retells the stories, sometimes briefly, sometimes more fully, but always so as to teach the lesson of a growing revelation of God through rites and laws. He tells how the

Sabbath originated, how the law of "blood for blood," of circumcision, and at last, at Sinai, the full law of sacrifices came into being. Into these stories and laws he wove his conception of Jehovah's demand for absolute obedience.

The sources from which these writers drew their material can in part be traced.

P used the stories of JE, other traditions, written and unwritten, and the customs and laws of the nation, old and new.

D also knew the JE stories, while the restatement of the laws is based on the older legal codes of the nation, some of which were already incorporated in J (Exod 34. 14-26) and E (Exod 20 to 23).

J and E also used some written sources. Previous prophetic writers, with the same purpose of teaching that sin brings punishment, had already gathered stories of the olden times, and in some places it is possible to see that J and E have incorporated tales from these earlier sources. They can be distinguished by slight differences of style and content. J and E also use stories not previously written. Of course all go back ultimately to unwritten stories, as the laws go back ultimately to tribal and national customs.

Interesting as is the process of growth of a collection of ancient stories, the original stories are still more interesting. What was their origin? How did they take the literary form which the first writers used? For what purpose were they first told? In what does their attraction lie? These questions arise from the reading of any ancient collection of tales.

The stories have various origins. Some are Babylonian tales. We have from Babylonia kindred stories of the Creation and the Flood, while the story of Babel is laid in Babylonia.

Some are stories of explanation—etiological is the technical word. They attempt to answer the question, why? A wide variety of subjects come in: (1) Some are etymo-

logical, and explain names of persons or places—Isaac, Reuben, Israel, Beersheba, Bethel, Jehovah. Such explanations of names are common the world over. (2) Some are tribal, designed to explain the relationship of tribes to each other. They tell why the tribes of Joseph and Benjamin are closely affiliated, why Beersheba and Hebron belong to Israel, why Ishmael is a Bedouin people, and why Israel possesses the land of Canaan. Such legends sometimes have a basis in history. They are attempts at a philosophy of history. When, as in the Hexateuch, they are stories told about the nation's God and its ancestral heroes, they mark a religious and patriotic consciousness which is worth much for the most valuable things in the life of the nation. (3) Some are historical stories, setting forth in dramatic form the essential facts of episodes in the ancient tribal life, usually putting these tribal stories into the form of personal history attached to the names of their ancient ancestors. Such versions of tribal history are frequent also in the Arabic tribes. (4) Some are stories of religious rites and customs, telling, among other things, why the Sabbath was kept, the feast of the passover celebrated, the holy stone at Bethel anointed. All ancient races have stories explaining the reasons for certain rites in their religions, and often connecting them with notable persons and events in their history.

The permanent value of these ancient stories lies in (1) their literary charm, and (2) still more in the religious teaching which the writers have infused into the old popular tales.

CHAPTER XIII

GENESIS

THE book of Genesis is divided into two parts: chs. 1 to 11, traditions of the primeval world; chs. 12 to 50, traditions of the Hebrew people. In the first, only J and P are represented. E seems to have begun his book not with the creation, but with the traditions of Abraham.

The stories of Genesis came from various sources. Some are the stories of local places; some are the traditions of tribes, told about the ancestral heroes. They had long been told orally before they were written down. Such popular stories soon take a certain literary form, usually known as the folk-tale form, which is marked by simplicity, directness, repetition, and often climax and humor. To call a story a folk-tale is not to pass a judgment on its historical value, but only to classify it as literature. Folk-stories, whether legend or history, formed the best material for religious teaching which an early race possessed. The teachers of many races have so used their ancient tales, but none have molded them into as rich a body of religious truth as have the writers of the early Hebrew books.

In spite of the variety of sources, there is a unity of purpose in Genesis. God guiding the affairs of men and fulfilling His plan through them, is the main religious conception of the book.

Part I. Traditions of the Primeval World. Chapters 1 to 2. 4a (to "when they were created") is P's story of creation. It is in poetic form, each stanza beginning and ending with the same formula, and furnishes an excellent introduction to the study of the P document. (1) The conception of God is of a lofty Being. He speaks, and it is done. The author is careful not to describe him in human

terms. (2) The style is formal, abstract, legalistic, precise, orderly, repetitious. It is not picturesque. It does not present a picture, but a series of conceptions. (3) Notice the striking arrangement in divisions, proceeding from the lower to the higher. The culmination, instead of being, as we might expect, the creation of man, is the appointment of the Sabbath. The Sabbath is regarded as embedded in the creation. Here is the expression of the priestly purpose.

Chapters 2. 4b to 3. 24 ("In the day that Jehovah created the heavens and the earth, then the earth," etc.), the second story of creation, furnishes the best introduction to the style and purpose of J. (1) God is described, not as a lofty and distant Being, but as having human attributes. He experiments; he walks and talks with men; he discovers what has happened by inquiry; he is intimate, compassionate, companionable. (2) There is no repetition, no formality of style; the story is picturesque rather than abstract, concrete rather than general. There are explanations of names, on the basis of the resemblance of their sound to words in the current Hebrew of the writer's time—Adam (*adamah*, ground), Eve (*hava*, to live). (3) The purpose of the story is found in the prophetic teaching that sin brings suffering. Chapters 4 and 5 present further parallels between J and P. Chapter 4 continues the story of J. It is in the same style, with the same fondness for finding a meaning in ancient names, the same conceptions of God and the same purpose of showing that sin brings suffering.

The story of Cain and Abel is an instance of J's borrowing. It does not belong to the tale of the first family, for the earth is already populated. In ch. 4. 20 Jabal is named as the "father of shepherds," to the exclusion of Abel. This would seem to indicate that the editor combined the tradition of an ancient strife, in which Cain and Abel perhaps represent tribes, with a genealogical list. Chapter 5 is from P. Contrast its rigid formality with the freedom of expression in ch. 4.

Chapters 6 to 9 contain the story of the Flood. The story is from both J and P, but interwoven, instead of separate, as in the creation stories. P is 6. 9-22; 7. 6, 11, 13-16a, 17-21, 24; 8. 1-2a, 3b-5, 13a, 14-19; 9. 1-17, 28, 29, and a few phrases inserted in the J material by the editor. The remainder is J.

THE FLOOD STORY FROM

J

6 5 And Jehovah saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. And it repented Jehovah that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart. 7 And Jehovah said, I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the ground; both man, and beast, and creeping things, and birds of the heavens; for it repenteth me that I have made them. 8 But Noah found favor in the eyes of Jehovah.

7 1 And Jehovah said unto Noah, Come thou and all thy house into the ark; for thee have I seen righteous before me in this generation. 2 Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee seven and seven, the male and his female; and of the beasts that are not clean two, the male and his female: 3 of the birds also of the heavens, seven and seven, male and female; to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth. 4 For yet seven days, and I will cause it to rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights; and every living thing that I have made will I destroy from off the face of the ground. 5 And Noah did according unto all that Jehovah commanded him.

17 And Noah went in, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him, into the ark, be-

¹In vv. 7-10, R has introduced several phrases from P.

THE FLOOD STORY FROM

P

6 9 These are the generations of Noah. Noah was a righteous man, and perfect in his generations: Noah walked with God. 10 And Noah begat three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. 11 And the earth was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence. 12 And God saw the earth, and, behold, it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted their way upon the earth.

13 And God said unto Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and, behold, I will destroy them with the earth. 14 Make thee an ark of gopher wood; rooms shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch. 15 And this is how thou shalt make it: the length of the ark three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits. 16 A light shalt thou make to the ark, and to a cubit shalt thou finish it upward; and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof; with lower, second, and third stories shalt thou make it. 17 And I, behold, I do bring the flood of waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; every thing that is in the earth shall die. 18 But I will establish my covenant with thee; and thou shalt come into the ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee. 19 And of every living

cause of the waters of the flood. 8 Of clean beasts, and of beasts that are not clean, and of birds, and of every thing that creepeth upon the ground, 9 there went in two and two unto Noah into the ark, male and female, as God commanded Noah. 10 And it came to pass after the seven days, that the waters of the flood were upon the earth. 12 And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights. 16 And Jehovah shut him in.

22 All in whose nostrils was the breath of the spirit of life, of all that was on the dry land, died. 23 And every living thing was destroyed that was upon the face of the ground, both man, and cattle, and creeping things, and birds of the heavens; and they were destroyed from the earth: and Noah only was left, and they that were with him in the ark. 2 And the rain from heaven was restrained; 3 and the waters returned from off the earth continually:

8 6 And it came to pass at the end of forty days, that Noah opened the window of the ark which he had made: 7 and he sent forth a raven, and it went forth to and fro, until the waters were dried up from off the earth. 8 And he sent forth a dove from him, to see if the waters were abated from off the face of the ground; 9 but the dove found no rest for the sole of her foot, and she returned unto him to the ark; for the waters were on the face of the whole earth: and he put forth his hand, and took her, and brought her in unto him into the ark. 10 And he stayed yet other seven days; and again he sent forth the dove out of the ark; 11 and the dove came in to him at eventide; and, lo, in her mouth an olive-leaf plucked off: so Noah knew that the waters were abated from off the earth. 12 And he stayed yet other seven days, and sent forth the dove; and she re-

thing of all flesh, two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be male and female. 20 Of the birds after their kind, and of the cattle after their kind, of every creeping thing of the ground after its kind, two of every sort shall come unto thee, to keep them alive. 21 And take thou unto thee of all food that is eaten, and gather it to thee; and it shall be for food for thee, and for them. 22 Thus did Noah; according to all that God commanded him, so did he.

7 6 And Noah was six hundred years old when the flood of waters was upon the earth.

11 In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, on the seventeenth day of the month, on the same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened.

13 In the selfsame day entered Noah, and Shem, and Ham, and Japheth, the sons of Noah, and Noah's wife, and the three wives of his sons with them, into the ark; 14 they, and every beast after its kind, and all the cattle after their kind, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth after its kind, and every bird after its kind, every bird of every sort. 15 And they went in unto Noah into the ark, two and two of all flesh, wherein is the breath of life. 16 And they that went in, went in male and female of all flesh, as God commanded him: 17 And the flood was¹ upon the earth; and the waters increased, and bare up the ark, and it was lifted up above the earth. 18 And the waters prevailed, and increased greatly upon the earth; and the ark went upon the face of the waters. 19 And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth; and all the high moun-

¹ "Forty days" has been inserted by R from the story of J.

turned not again unto him any more. 13 And Noah removed the covering of the ark, and looked, and, behold, the face of the ground was dried.

¹20 And Noah builded an altar unto Jehovah; and took of every clean beast, and of every clean bird, and offered burnt-offerings on the altar. 21 And Jehovah smelled the sweet savor; and Jehovah said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake, for that the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth; neither will I again smite any more every thing living, as I have done. 22 While the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease.

¹ The parallel in P of vss. 20-22 is 9: 1-17.

tains that were under the whole heaven were covered. 20 Fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail; and the mountains were covered. 21 And all flesh died that moved upon the earth, both birds, and cattle, and beasts, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man: 24 And the waters prevailed upon the earth a hundred and fifty days.

8 1 And God remembered Noah, and all the beasts, and all the cattle that were with him in the ark: and God made a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters assuaged; 2 the fountains also of the deep and the windows of heaven were stopped, 3 and after the end of a hundred and fifty days the waters decreased. 4 And the ark rested in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat. 5 And the waters decreased continually until the tenth month: in the tenth month, on the first day of the month, were the tops of the mountains seen.

13 And it came to pass in the six hundred and first year, in the first month, the first day of the month, the waters were dried up from off the earth:

14 And in the second month, on the seven and twentieth day of the month, was the earth dry.

15 And God spake unto Noah, saying, 16 Go forth from the ark, thou, and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy sons' wives with thee.

17 Bring forth with thee every living thing that is with thee of all flesh, both birds, and cattle, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth; that they may breed abundantly in the earth, and be fruitful, and multiply upon the earth: 18 And Noah went forth, and his sons, and his wife, and his sons' wives with him: 19 every beast, every creeping thing, and every bird, whatsoever moveth upon the earth, after their families, went forth out of the ark.

The fact that there are two stories is plain from (1) repetitions; all the main points of the story are told twice; (2) contradictions, as in the length of the flood and the number of animals taken into the ark.

The stories show the characteristic differences of J and P. (1) The character of God. In the J story he repents that he has made man, he is pleased with the savor of a sacrifice, and promises not to destroy the earth again. P is less anthropomorphic. God of his own free will "establishes a covenant" with man. (P tells no story of sacrifice till after the revelation of the law of sacrifice.) (2) The same difference of style is seen as in the earlier passages. J is more picturesque; P more abstract. (3) The purpose differs. J has transformed the old Semitic legend of a flood so that it leaves the strong impress of a moral lesson—sin brings suffering, but repentance and righteousness bring the fellowship and blessing of God. P uses the same original story to lead up to a little code of law, given by the free grace of God to undeserving man (9. 1-17). Both purposes are religious, but with characteristic differences

Chapter 10 is a table of nations, arranged in genealogical form. It is mostly from P, but vv. 8-19, 21, 25-30 are J, with some R. Notice the formula, "the sons of," in the P section, and the different form in J.

Chapter 11. 1-9 is J's story of the origin of nations. It is, like the story of the Flood, an old Babylonian legend. It presents the characteristics of J in its conception of God, its style, and its purpose. Here again is the prophetic lesson that sin brings punishment. The separation of language and nationality, with all its accompanying jealousy and strife, was, the story says, due to the arrogance of men, who dared the wrath of God by presuming to build a tower that should reach to heaven. The old mythological explanation for the disaster was the jealousy of the gods, but the Hebrew writer has turned it to a moral use.

Much of the early part of Genesis is undoubtedly based

on Babylonian sources. Kindred stories of the creation and of the flood are found on Babylonian tablets, but they bear no such religious teaching as the versions which appear in Genesis. Among the early myths and legends of the ancient world, these versions stand unique for the permanent religious truths which they embody.

Part II. Traditions of the Hebrew Ancestors. This portion of Genesis presents, on the whole, the finest collection of Hebrew stories in the Old Testament Scripture. The stories are connected with the ancestors of the nation, and so had a greater interest to the story-tellers of Israel than those of the first section of Genesis. The great majority of them, perhaps all, were popular tales long before they were compiled by the editors of Genesis. This accounts for their compact form, their picturesque and vivid character. Many are connected with certain localities, and must have originated in those places. They are explanations of names (two of Bethel, two of Beersheba), or of some physical peculiarity, like the story of the destruction of Sodom to explain the barrenness of the Dead Sea region, or they tell the adventures of a hero at a certain place. Sometimes they explain tribal names and relations. In order to understand their growth, one must think of them as handed down orally for generations at the places interested.

In reading these stories, keep in mind the general message of the Hexateuch—"God led the ancestors of the Hebrew nation in all their wanderings and at last brought them into the land of Canaan; therefore the nation ought to serve him, and him alone." Back of this lies the message found in the prophetic and priestly sources, so that we may often see two teachings; one that of the source, the other that of the editor who combined the sources.

1. Stories of Abraham. Chapters 12 and 13 are J, except 12. 4b, 5; 13. 6, 11b, 12a, which is P. In both J and P Lot, the traditional ancestor of Moab and Edom, abandons all claim to Canaan, which God gives to Abraham, the

traditional ancestor of Israel. Notice the prophetic idea that righteousness brings reward. Abraham obeyed the call of God, he dealt unselfishly with Lot, and God rewarded him. In the midst of the section comes the strange story in ch. 12. 10-20. It is a tale of cowardice and base deceit, which never could have commanded from its hearers anything but reprobation. Moreover, there are two similar narratives—chs. 20 and 26. 6-11. These stories introduce another thought which can be traced in many parts of Genesis—God so guides that even the sins and follies of men work out his own purpose. Chapter 14 is so different from the rest of Genesis in style and content that it is supposed to belong to neither of these sources.

Chapters 15 and 16, mostly J, and ch. 17, P, contain two elements of interest. One is God's covenant with Abraham (chs. 15 and 17). Note that ch. 15 is more picturesque in style than ch. 17; that even in the incidental parts of ch. 15 the prophetic point of view appears—sin brings suffering and faithfulness brings reward (15. 14-16); that the covenant is the reward of faith (15. 6), and is confirmed with a sacrifice (15. 9-17). The priestly story has no sacrifice, for the law of sacrifice has not yet been revealed, but leads to the law of circumcision.

Chapters 18 and 19 are mostly J. Notice the picturesque form, the rapid movement, the vivid style, the prophetic teaching that sin brings punishment, the anthropomorphic conception of God, as in Gen 2 and 3. Chapters 20 to 22 present a new source, which has appeared before only in small sections in ch. 15, the prophetic source E. The purpose of E is much like J; it has the same conception of the close relation of God to man; of God as guiding the events of life, making even the folly of men serve his purpose; of sacrifice as known from immemorial time. The style is much like J—pictorial and vivid. A close study shows it to be slightly less rapid in movement.

Chapter 20 is a duplicate of J's story in ch. 12. 2-20.

Chapter 21 is the duplicate of the tradition given by J in ch. 16. Chapter 22 is a plea against the not uncommon Semitic custom of human sacrifice. Chapter 23 is another place-tale, used by P to show how the Hebrews obtained their first possession of land in Canaan. Chapter 24 is J. Note the vivid style, the series of rich pictures presented, the human nature of the characters, the conception of divine guidance in the affairs of men.

The early part of Genesis is formed of separate tales, somewhat loosely connected. Even the stories of Abraham are more a series of incidents than a connected narrative. The latter part, chs. 25 to 50, is much more closely interwoven. It consists of two cycles of stories, which are themselves interlocked, about Jacob and Joseph. The separate tales are, as their style shows, popular stories, but the combination of tales into a cycle marks the interest in development and plot. The stories of Jacob and Joseph approach the novel in literary form, rather than the shorter popular tale.

2. The story of Jacob, so far as it is independent of Joseph, lies mostly in chs. 25 to 33. It is largely J and E.

Read and observe (1) the literary impression of each incident; the vivid pictures; the insight into human nature; the unconscious characterization of different types, as in Jacob and Esau; the expression of tribal relationships with the Esau tribes and the Arameans of Mesopotamia; the prophetic conception of the guidance of God; (2) the impression of the cycle of stories as a whole; the unity of plot, the development of Jacob's character from selfishness toward unselfishness by the discipline of life. The full value of the cycle can be seen only after reading the stories of Joseph, with which the stories of Jacob blend.

3. The cycle of the stories of Joseph is in chs. 37 and 39 to 50. These also are mostly from J and E, but with more from P than in the previous section. Read, noting (1) the literary impression of each incident, as in the stories of

Jacob; (2) the impression of the whole cycle; the unity; the element of romantic contrast between the shepherd boy and the viceroy of Egypt; the rapid shifting of scene; the use of mystery in the development of the plot; the growth of character in Joseph from the imprudent, egotistical boy to the wise, loving, and forgiving man. Here also comes the full development of Jacob's character. The whole is told with great literary charm and human interest. These qualities belong to the popular story-telling stage of these tales. The writers of Genesis have preserved them because they showed how God was leading the ancestors of the nation, and made a direct appeal to the Hebrew readers to serve the God of their fathers. The full strength of this appeal can be seen only when Genesis is joined to the succeeding books of the Hexateuch and all are taken together. Genesis was never designed to stand alone.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Make a list of passages which show differences of (a) content, (b) style, in Gen 1 to 3. What literary excellencies are found in each?
2. How show that Gen 4 is J?
3. One verse in Gen 5 is usually assigned to J. Read the chapter, and see which it is, and why.
4. List words and phrases showing characteristics of J and P in the Flood stories.
5. Read the Babylonian story of the Flood and compare with that of the Bible story (see Rogers's *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*).
6. Which is the nearest to the present conception of God as the loving Father, the conception of J or of P?
7. What elements of popular story-telling in the J portions in Gen 1 to 11?
8. What were the scientific conceptions of the writers of Gen 1?
9. If the purpose of the authors of Genesis was religious, do problems of their scientific or historical accuracy affect the value of the literature?
10. What literary characteristics in chs. 24, 27, 28, and 43 to 45?

11. How does the story of Joseph use the elements of contrast and of adventure for literary interest?
12. From a literary point of view, what is the best single story in the book of Genesis, and why?
13. Are the stories of Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph historical writings?
14. Which stories in Genesis bring out best the prophetic teaching of the writers, that sin brings punishment; that God guided the evolution of the nation?
15. What are the permanent religious values of the book of Genesis?

CHAPTER XIV

EXODUS, LEVITICUS, NUMBERS, AND JOSHUA

THE sources, methods, and purpose of the narrative portions of Exodus, Numbers, Leviticus, and Joshua are the same as in Genesis. Exod 1 to 19 contains the story of the youth of Moses, of the departure from Egypt, and of the journey to Mount Sinai. The sources are J, E, and P. They may be distinguished by the same marks as in Genesis. See the use of formula, of repetition, and of abstract statement in 1. 1-7; 2. 23-25, in contrast with the picturesque style of 3. 1-6. From what sources do these passages come? In this section occurs the revelation of the name Jahveh in both E (3. 13-15. The writer regards Jahveh as the third person of ehyeh, "he is") and P (6. 2-8. P says plainly that the name Jahveh was not known before). After this E uses Jahveh sometimes, P always. When this distinction between the sources disappears, it is not always easy to distinguish J and E, whose general characters are much alike.

The code of laws commonly known as the "Book of the Covenant" occurs in Exod 20 to 23 (E). They are laws designed for a simple community engaged in agricultural life. They are concerned with religious ceremonials, personal rights, property, and slavery. They represent a people whose ideals include justice, kindness, and religious conceptions, but which has as yet evolved no elaborate machinery, either of courts or of religious ritual. Cases are presented "before God" for judgment, and altars of earth may be built in any sacred place.

Exod 25 to 31 is a long account of the instructions to Moses regarding the tabernacle, and chs. 35 to 40 tell how

these same instructions were carried out. The literary qualities mark the sections as P. Between them lies a JE narrative which embodies an interesting and very primitive little code of laws, probably originally a decalogue, assigned to J (34. 11-26).

Leviticus is all from the priestly source, P. The book shows the priestly conception of the origin of worship in Israel up to this point. P has made no mention of sacrifices; there could be no sacrifice till God had prepared a place and given the laws. But now that the tabernacle and altar are ready (Exod 35 to 40), God reveals the laws of sacrifice and of the consecration of priests for that ritual (Lev 1 to 10).

Chapters 17 to 26 give a separate body of laws, which make frequent appeal to the holiness of God as a motive for obedience, and is therefore called the Holiness Code (H). It seems to be based on an older code, edited under priestly influence.

Numbers, like Exodus, is mingled story and law. The stories are set in a period of forty years, during which the Hebrews are said to have been dwellers of the half desert region south of Palestine. The writers of J and E looked upon this period as a time of discipline of the people by Jehovah, till they should learn to trust and obey him. The idea that sin brings suffering is also embodied in the stories, for the forty years' delay in reaching Palestine is a punishment for their rebellion against Jehovah (14. 20-25). There are bits of ancient verse (21. 14, 15, 17, 18, 27-30), and one long story, half in verse, the story of Balaam, the interest in which, for the Hebrew writers, lay in the poetical blessings of Israel which the tale contained (chs. 22 to 24).

The laws of the priestly code in Numbers follow naturally with those of Leviticus, and consist of old customs and their later modifications. Leviticus has given laws for offerings and a priesthood; Numbers gives two sets of laws for the consecration of the tribe of Levi as ministers at the

tabernacle (chs. 4 and 18). In the code of Deuteronomy the priests and Levites were identical, the usual term being "the priests, the Levites." The priestly code represents the later custom after the exile, when not all Levites were priests, but only the members of a certain caste, who in the P account trace their descent back to Aaron.

By the end of Numbers, JE and P alike have brought Israel to the borders of Canaan, with the conception that God had guided them all the long way. It was this idea of the guidance of God which made these stories and laws so rich in religious value to the final editors of these books.

Deuteronomy has its place in the scheme of these books as the statement of laws given by Moses to Israel just before going across the Jordan into Palestine.

Joshua is the story of the conquest and settlement of Canaan. It divides into three parts:

Part I. Chapters 1 to 12, the conquest of the land by Joshua.

Part II. Chapters 13 to 22, the division of the land between the tribes.

Part III. Chapters 23 and 24, the last days and death of Joshua.

Part I is mainly JE; Part II mainly P; Part III mainly JE. The book has been edited by some one who wrote in the spirit of Deuteronomy. For example, ch. 1 is full of words and expressions which are characteristic of Deuteronomy. Part I contains the account of the entrance into Canaan, and the capture of Jericho (1 to 6); a campaign in the south (7 to 10); and in the north (11 and 12). Part II is a detailed statement of the tribal territories which were assigned to the various tribes under the supervision of Joshua. Part III pictures the aged Joshua, the land entirely in possession of the Hebrews, pleading with the people to follow Jehovah only. The speeches assigned to him contain Deuteronomic thoughts and expressions and are, in their present form, like ch. 1, the writing of Deuteronomic editors (RD.). Such editorial work does not detract from the value of a

book. The editor has rewritten old stories in his own style, as the author of the fourth Gospel wrote the words of Jesus in his own style.

The total impression left by the book of Joshua is of a rapid conquest of Canaan under Joshua, the complete subjugation or annihilation of all its inhabitants, and the peaceful possession of its conquered and emptied towns by the Hebrews, to whom the land was distributed by a divinely ordered lot. This impression is due to the mechanical view of history presented by P. The impression made by Joshua must be corrected by the account of Judges. The latter shows that the conquest was the slow work of the separate tribes, each conquering its own territory, while the larger towns were still held by the original inhabitants. The late writer of P takes very literally the Deuteronomic idea that God gave the land to the Hebrews. That idea, in whatever form, had religious value, and the editors of Joshua made it the great conception of the book.

The whole series of books from Genesis to Joshua constituted a strong appeal to the faithful service of Jehovah, who had guided their ancestors, formed their nation, and given them the land which in the writer's time had been their home for ages. When the books were finally edited, Palestine was ruled by foreign powers, and the national life was blotted out; but the prophets had bid them hold faith for the future; God would yet make them a nation again. It was largely due to the central religious conception of these books that Israel was able to retain its religion and its national identity under the disintegrating influences of later times, when some other nations dissolved and disappeared.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

I. The Laws

1. What were the subjects of legislation in Exod 20 to 23?
2. State the substance of the laws about property.

3. What was the status of slaves in this code? Compare Lev 25. 39-46.
4. What were the subjects of legislation in Exod 34. 11-26? Can they be arranged in a decalogue?
5. In Lev 1 to 7, what kind of offerings? What sins could be atoned for by sacrifices? See 4. 1f., 13f., 5. 1f., 14f., 6. 1-5.

II. The Stories

1. Read Exod 14, 15, 19, 20. 18-21. How do the writers make the stories impressive?
2. Read Num 22 to 24. What is the object of the story? What the substance of the poetic parts? Should the section be treated as history, or as a poem in praise of the national God?
3. Are there any evidences of duplicate stories in Exod 14. 15-31; in Josh 3 and 4?
4. Read Josh 8, 23, 24. What prophetic religious ideas are presented?
5. Has the main conception of these books, God's guidance of the nation of Israel, any present religious value? If so, what is it?

CHAPTER XV

DEUTERONOMY

DEUTERONOMY is a prophetic sermon thrown into the form of a book of law. It is filled with the spirit of religious teaching. Its characteristics and influence in later Hebrew literature make it worthy of separate study.

The book is in the form of a series of orations assigned to Moses, with appendices.

I. Chs. 1 to 4. 43. The first oration of Moses, with introduction (1. 1-5) and appendix (4. 41-43). A résumé of the wanderings of Israel, with exhortations to remain faithful to Jehovah.

II. Chs. 4. 44 to 28. 68. The second oration of Moses, with introduction (4. 44-49). The oration is divided into two parts, the hortatory (chs. 5 to 11) and the legal (chs. 12 to 28).

III. Chs. 29 and 30. The third oration of Moses, containing promises and warnings.

IV. Chs. 31 to 34. The last words of Moses, poems ascribed to him, and an account of his death.

The important part of the book is in the second oration. Here is found the great body of its laws, and the hortatory introduction gives the key to the writer's purpose, in its prophetic exhortations to cling fast to the worship of Jehovah. Read large portions, if not the whole, of this introduction (chs. 5 to 11) for its light on the author's purpose and style. Notice the reiteration of certain ideas; God has guided the nation; he gives them the land they are to enter; he forbids the worship of other gods, and demands their exclusive service. Notice the style—full, oratorical, so repetitious that certain words and phrases are known as Deuteronomic.

The legal section, chs. 12 to 28, is a people's law book, in distinction from Leviticus, which is a priest's law book.

There is no explanation of the ceremonies of sacrifice, nor of any of the priestly offices about which the P codes give us abundant information. The purpose of the book seems to be to instruct the common people in the common duties of life. It is also more than a law book, even in its legal portions. The author is constantly inserting reasons why the laws should be obeyed, exhortations to love and honor Jehovah, warnings against abandoning his worship. The beginning of the code, ch. 12, furnishes the central principle of the book. Read it, and see how it is designed to unify the worship of Jehovah. All sacrifice must be offered at one place. Animals killed for food, which before this had been brought to a shrine and killed with religious ceremonies, may now be slain and eaten anywhere, like wild game.

The laws of Deuteronomy rest, in the main, upon the laws of the Book of the Covenant, Exod 20 to 23. Compare Deut 5. 6-21 and Exod 20. 2-17; Deut 22. 1ff. and Exod 23. 4ff.; Deut 14. 21b and Exod 23. 19b. Some laws have been added, and many former laws have been changed, often in the interests of a growing civilization. Compare Deut 12. 1-28 and Exod 20. 24; Deut 15. 12 and Exod 21. 7; Deut 19. 1-13 and Exod 21. 12-14. Certain other sections in Numbers and Exodus furnish bases for the laws in this book, but they are all in the JE codes, never the P codes. Its place in history must be after JE and before P.

The two main characteristics of the code are its emphasis on (1) loyalty to Jehovah, and (2) philanthropy. The code dwells upon the necessity of worshiping Jehovah only, as does its hortatory introduction. It commands justice to the poor and to strangers (24. 17ff.; 10. 19ff.); provides for organized courts (16. 18-20); softens old barbaric customs (compare 20. 19 and 2 Kings 3. 19; 19. 15-21 and Exod 21. 23-24).

Deuteronomy has an interesting history. The first trace we have of it is in the reign of Josiah, when, in 621 B. C., those who were repairing the temple at the order of the

king brought to him a law book, which they said had been found in the temple. It was a book new to the king. A prophetess to whom the matter was referred affirmed it to be a statement of Jehovah's law, though she is not said to have made any claim of antiquity for it. The king organized and carried out a reform on the basis of it; and the chief elements of his reform were the destruction of shrines of other gods and the concentration of all worship of Jehovah in Jerusalem; the things which Deuteronomy alone among the codes emphasizes. There seems no doubt but that the book found in the temple was at least a part of Deuteronomy. Some of the appendix material of the book seems to be later than this time. The original book is usually considered to have included most, if not all, of chs. 12 to 26, 28, and perhaps chs. 5 to 11, for these chapters are a unity as the rest of the book is not.

What was the origin of this early edition of Deuteronomy? The book could not have been an ancient code of the nation's laws. Prophets, priests, and kings, through all Israel's history, had violated its fundamental precepts and no one had ever protested. There is no evidence that any one had knowledge of a law demanding that all worship should be at one place. It seems certain that the book must have been comparatively recent when it was brought out from the temple. Its prophetic spirit and ideas point to its origin among the prophets. There had been a time, before the reign of Josiah, during the long reign of Manasseh and the short reign of his son, Amon, when the enmity of the court to the prophets made their public activity unsafe. There is a period of nearly seventy-five years from which we have no sermons. It cannot be supposed that the prophetic spirit was inactive during this time. Many regard this as the period during which the laws of Deuteronomy were compiled. This would account for the central idea of the book, the unification of worship. The early prophets contain abundant evidence of the

corruption of worship at the ancient local shrines, which this unification was intended to reform. It would account for the feeling of religious intensity which pervades the book. The authors were filled with their great prophetic ideas of God's claim on Israel, and, since they could not speak publicly, their feeling flowed out into the rich religious devotion of this book. They took the old laws and customs of the nation and brought them up to date, making them express the reforms which they felt the nation needed most.

The writers had their reward. No book in preexilic literature had so great an influence on those who came after as this book. Both its style and its ideas are so striking that their influence can easily be traced, and one finds it in Jeremiah, the later editors of the Hexateuch, the entire series of histories in Judges, Samuel, and Kings, while Jesus sums up the law in words from this book. Underneath its code of laws lay the thought of the love of God for Israel, and thus it became a basis for the highest religious conceptions which Judaism and Christianity were afterward to attain.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Compare Deut 5 with Exod 20. What differences, especially in the decalogue? Is it possible to tell which represents the earlier form?
2. Read chs. 6 to 11. What are the main ideas? What are some of the most common phrases?
3. State the substance of the law about the place of worship, in ch. 12. What is the connection of vv. 15-18, 20-25, with the place of worship?
4. Compare (I) Exod 21. 2-11, Deut 15. 12-18, Lev 25. 39-46; (II) Exod 2. 12-14, Deut 19. 1-13, Lev 24. 17-21, Num 35. What differences in the various codes between the laws on each subject?
5. Read chs. 29 and 30. Compare the religious ideas and the style with chs. 6 to 11.
6. State, from your reading of Deuteronomy, its great ideas, giving references in illustration.

CHAPTER XVI

JUDGES

THE time embraced in the book of Judges corresponds roughly to the colonial period in American history. The people were taking root in Palestine and the scattered tribes were slowly being formed into a nation. In this period the prominent figures were a series of local chieftains, called judges. In modern Arabia they would be called sheiks. The stories of some of these chieftains constitute the book of Judges.

The book consists of three main divisions:

Division I. Chapters 1. 1 to 2. 5, which is an introduction, telling the story of the conquest.

Division II. Chapters 2. 6 to 16. 31, forming the body of the book, containing accounts of thirteen judges, set in an editorial introduction and framework.

Division III. Chapters 17 to 21 comprise two appendices, giving stories of the migration of Dan and the Benjamite war.

The introduction is from the earliest prophetic narrative, J. The editor of Joshua has also used some of the same matter (compare 1. 10-15 and Josh 15. 13-19). It shows that the conquest was a slow movement, carried on by each tribe as it was able. Emphasis is laid on the fact that the Canaanites were not driven out by the Hebrews, and in 2. 1-5 a reason for this is given. This division is wholly independent of the rest of the book. It forms an appropriate introduction. The book opens with stories of the reviving power of the Canaanites, who were almost able to overpower the Hebrews; and this division tells how it happened that they were so strong.

The body of the book has an introduction of its own, 2. 6 to 3. 6. It opens with an account of the death and burial of Joshua, drawn from the source used in the last chapter of Joshua. Then follows a division which is the work of the editor of the book, and which furnishes the key to his purpose in writing it (vv. 11 to 19). The verbs are frequentatives, and the division states what the author conceives to have been the customary action of Israel and Jehovah. The people turned from God; he brought trouble upon them; they turned to him again; he heard their cry and delivered them. Again and again this occurred. Read 2. 11-19 with care, for in it lies the author's reason for compiling the book.

The history begins in 3. 7. It consists of stories of the different judges, each set in a framework written by the editor who wrote the introduction. Read the framework in 3. 7f., 3. 12f., 4. 1f., 6. 1f., 10. 6f., 13. 1. Each states in essence the same facts: the people turn from God, he gives them into the hand of their enemies, they cry to him, he sends a deliverer. Is this not the same thing that the introduction has said? Each of these passages is the text of a prophetic sermon, designed to show that Israel's national safety lies only in the service of Jehovah. The author looked over the old stories of his people's history, and found tales which he thought he could use to teach this lesson; but he would not leave the readers to draw their own conclusions. Again and again he repeated the truth he wished to teach.

This point of view is akin to that of Deuteronomy. This author is usually called the Deuteronomic editor of Judges, and his book, Judg 2. 6 to 16. 31, is called the Deuteronomic Judges, to distinguish it from the entire present book, with its introduction and appendices.

The stories which he used are not in his style, nor are they always told from his point of view. Some of them have quite different lessons, like the story of Abimelech, where

9. 56f. shows the old prophetic lesson that sin brings punishment. Evidently, he found these stories already collected, and incorporated them in his book without rewriting. This earlier book is known as the pre-Deuteronomic book of Judges. It also was a prophetic book, written to inculcate the common prophetic teaching that sin brings punishment. Probably it included stories of Eli and Samuel, which now appear in the book of Samuel.

The pre-Deuteronomic book was itself composite. For example, in the story of Gideon, 8. 4-21 does not connect with 7. 25, where princes of Midian bearing different names are already captured. Two sources can be traced throughout the book, and they bear a strong resemblance in style and point of view to J and E. Many think that they are J and E; that those early collections of stories, instead of stopping with the death of Joshua, continued at least through the story of the judges, and that the pre-Deuteronomic Judges is a part of the book JE, combined from these two sources. If so, this would account for its teaching of sin and suffering.

Behind these sources must, of course, lie the old oral stories and ballads, local tales of the deeds of the heroes which were later gathered, with more or less change, into the first written accounts. One of these is preserved; ch. 5 is the ballad on which the prose story of ch. 4 is based. The poem is an excellent example of primitive war ballads. It must have been written not long after the event it celebrates, and is the oldest piece of Hebrew literature of whose date we can be reasonably certain. The prose story has changed some details of the poetic story (compare 4. 19-21 and 5. 25-27), and has added from tradition enough to make the story, rather blind in the poem, intelligible to the reader. These old hero-tales carry us back to the rough, wild times of the judges. With their naïve character and their primitive morals they are excellent sources for constructing the picture of the life and civilization of early Israel.

The appendix, chs. 17 to 21, consists of stories bearing the same marks of vigorous primitive life and crude morals. Few stories in any ancient literature illustrate better the primitive confusion of religious and moral ideals than the story in chs. 17 and 18, of Micah and his idol, and the tribe that stole a shrine and a priest and massacred a city. These stories may have been in the pre-Deuteronomic Judges, and left out by the author of the Deuteronomic Judges as not illustrating his point, but afterward added by an editor. While there are evidences of some later changes, yet, on the whole, they belong to a very early stage of Hebrew story-telling, and are very valuable as history.

At some time in the process of building up the book from its sources in primitive stories, editors have added two conceptions which do not harmonize with the stories themselves: (1) that the judges were rulers of all Israel, and (2) that, therefore, it was possible to make a connected chronology, as though they were kings in a dynasty. As a matter of fact, the judges were local leaders, and no exact chronology is possible.

As literature, the interest of the book lies in the fact that it presents primitive ideals in the form of tales about popular heroes told in popular form. The portrayals of the characters and ideals of Deborah, Gideon, Jephthah, and Samson are among the choice examples of oriental tales. The religious values of the book lie in the point of view of its editors. Few prophetic teachings are more skilfully conveyed than that of the Deuteronomic editor, who insists that prosperity depends upon faithfulness to religion and loyalty to the nation's God.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. How do chs. 2. 11 to 3. 6, and the introductions to the stories, as 2. 7f., 12f., 4. 1f., 6. 1f., show the author's purpose?
2. Read chs. 4 and 5. How does the prose account differ in fact from the poetic? Which is the earlier? Why?
3. What qualities of poetry in ch. 5?

4. Read ch. 3. 12-30, chs. 6, 7, 11 for the qualities of character which produced the judges.
5. Read chs. 1. 1 to 2. 5. Why was this introduction prefixed to the book?
6. What were the characteristics of the times of the judges, as shown in chs. 17 and 18?

CHAPTER XVII

THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL

THESE books were originally one, the division being first made in the LXX. The name is not descriptive of the contents of the books; Samuel is the chief character of only the first third.

The books divide into three parts:

Part I. The work of Samuel, 1 Sam 1 to 12.

Part II. The reign of Saul, 1 Sam 13 to 31.

Part III. The reign of David, 2 Sam. Part III divides also into three parts: (1) General account of David's reign, chs. 1 to 8; (2) David's sin and its consequences, chs. 9 to 20; (3) an appendix, composed of various stories and poems, connected with David's reign, chs. 21 to 24.

These divisions are according to subject matter, not according to sources. The problem of sources is not so easy to solve as in some of the books, but two sources may be distinguished. One is clear, simple, vivid, full of incident and detail, an example of the best Hebrew narration; the author is in full sympathy with the kingdom, and has no doubt that God approved of its foundation. It seems to come from a period not long after the events narrated. The other is a little more formal and less picturesque. The author seems to stand somewhat farther from the events, and the years have brought disillusion. He also thinks that God founded the kingdom, but it was at the demand of a rebellious people, and God gave them a king in his wrath. As in Judges, these two sources have many of the qualities of J and E. Both are interested, as are those sources, in showing that sin brings punishment. Many suppose that

these sources are J and E. If so, those books were great prophetic collections of traditions and stories, stretching from the earliest legends of the nation down to the history of King David. In any case, we have here stories which are almost contemporaneous with the events, and which come to us in much the same vivid form as that in which they were told in the villages and by the camp fires on the Palestinian hills.

With these main sources are fragments from other sources. Some of the narratives may come from tradition. Chapter 7 is so much like the book of Judges that it is generally considered to be the story of the judge Samuel, from the pre-Deuteronomic book of Judges. For the poem in 2 Sam 1, the book of Jashur is given as the source.

The date of the final compilation of the book is after the publication of Deuteronomy, perhaps about 600. The purpose of the author is to show the guidance of God in national affairs—practically the same purpose as the editors of the Hexateuch. The editor of Samuel shows how God founded the kingdom and guided its earliest monarchs and therefore the people should serve him. He passes rapidly over the story of Eli and the fortunes of the ark which had been taken in battle, deals briefly with the campaigns in which Samuel won his judgeship, and bends his efforts to showing how Israel, weak and powerless under the domination of stronger peoples, was ready for a king. At the same time he does not intend to slight the great character, Samuel, who was the founder of the prophetic order, and one of the heroes of the nation's history. While he does not present his life fully, he tells enough of the old stories about him to leave the impression of a remarkably unselfish and noble personality. In his account of the founding of the kingdom the stories are told more at length, and here his use of the two sources becomes evident. The earlier source is in 9. 1 to 10. 16; 10. 27b to 11. 15; and chs. 13 and 14; the later source, chs. 8, 10. 17-27a, and ch. 12, with a few

editorial harmonizing additions. As the account stands in the present text it is not harmonious. Why should the people search all Israel for a champion (ch. 11) when a king was already chosen? Fancy the people of Saul's village weeping at the hopelessness of the search when the new king was their own fellow townsman! Read separately, each story is consistent, but told from a different point of view. In the first the choice of a king is regarded favorably, as a means to deliver Israel (9. 16). In the second, it is allowed by God in response to an irreligious request of the people. One can see, however, why the author has used both stories; they both illustrate his point of view. In both God guided the founding of the kingdom.

The stories about Saul are gathered to illustrate the same ideas—that God was guiding the destinies of Israel, and that the way of prosperity is the way of obedience to his commands. We have very little told about the political or economic outcome of Saul's kingship. He expresses the purpose of his stories of Saul in the distich which Samuel utters to the disobedient king:

To obey is better than sacrifice,

And to hearken than the fat of rams (15. 22).

One follows the decline of Saul's kingdom through the fragmentary stories of the latter part of 1 Samuel with a great pity for the helpless struggles of a character who might have been so heroic. That is exactly the impression which the author intended to leave when he gathered up these stories, and made for his people a sermon on obedience out of the old tales of their past history.

With the opening of Second Samuel attention turns to the reign of David. He was the greatest national hero of Israel's history, and the author has presented the story more systematically than he has that of Saul. In 2 Sam 1 to 8 is a general account of David's accession and reign. It closes in ch. 8 with a general summary of his wars, and a list of some of the officers of his court. Chapters 9 to 20 are all from

the earliest source. It is the largest single block of material from one source in any of the historical books, and one cannot but wish that we had more like it. Its plan is very compact. There is nothing in it which does not further the main story. The purpose of the author is to show how sin brings suffering. David's sin returns upon his own head, and finally leads, by indirect means which are clearly traced in the story, to the rebellion of Absalom, when the old king, driven out of his city, is heartbroken over the revolt and death of his favorite son. It is a story with a purpose, a real sermon, and no modern novel has ever made its purpose more clear than does this narrative.

The appendix contains matter from various sources. The poems it ascribes to David belong to a later time, but the stories seem to come from an early source, perhaps the source used in so much of the book. There are two passages of especial interest in the books of Samuel: (1) The story of David's introduction to the court of Saul, where the LXX omits 17. 12 to 31, 41, 50, 17. 55 to 18. 5, 18. 10, 11, 17 to 19, and other fragments. This makes a more consistent narrative, and avoids the difficulty of representing David, already a member of Saul's court, as unknown to Saul. It is a good illustration of one way in which the Greek translators dealt with difficulties. (2) The elegy of David over Saul and Jonathan, in 2 Sam 1. 19-27. This poem is in all probability a genuine song of David, and belongs to the oldest Hebrew literature. It is a noble poem, and shows a noble heart in its writer. In reading it observe its two parts; its complicated rhythm; its refrains; the qualities ascribed to Saul and Jonathan. Another fragment of elegy ascribed to David is in 2 Sam 3. 33, 34.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Read 1 Sam 8 to 12 to distinguish the sources, their difference in statement of fact and in point of view. How do both show the purpose of the book?

2. In 1 Sam 13, 15, 28, 31, what is the writer's estimate of Saul?
3. In 2 Sam 1. 19-27, what are (*a*) the thoughts expressed, (*b*) the estimate of Saul and his reign, (*c*) the revelation as to the character of the writer?
4. Read 2 Sam 17, 18, and observe its qualities as impressive story-telling. Compare with the prophetic stories of Genesis for vigor and vividness.
5. Classify the appendix, 2 Sam 21 to 24, into prose and poetry. What are the subjects of the prose stories?

CHAPTER XVIII

THE BOOKS OF KINGS

THESE books were, like the books of Samuel, originally a single work, divided first by the translators of the LXX. They are closely connected in origin with Samuel, and may have come from the same editors, making with Samuel a single book.

Kings is a history of the Hebrew monarchy from the accession of Solomon, about 970, to the fall of Jerusalem, 586. It covers a period of four hundred years, during half of which time it carries forward the records of two kingdoms; and each king is mentioned, his character judged, and his work summarized. To one, Solomon, eleven chapters are given. Space is taken for stories of the prophets, Elijah and Elisha. Obviously, the history must be told on a different scale from that in Samuel, where nearly as much space is given to about a century, with only a few great characters moving across the stage of action; and yet the marvel is that, with all its compactness, Kings commands the reader's interest. As a piece of literary work these books rank high. They also present the best history that we find in the Old Testament, making the course of the nation's career for the period they cover more clear than is any other part of its history.

The work divides into three parts:

- I. 1 Kings 1-11, the reign of Solomon.
- II. 1 Kings 12 to 2 Kings 17. The kings of Israel and Judah, to the fall of Israel.
- III. 2 Kings 18 to 25. The kings of Judah, after the fall of Israel.

The first two chapters are in the main from the earlier

source used in Samuel, and tell the story of the last days and death of David. The rest of Part I is the account of Solomon's reign. It is not a consecutive history but a statement of the glory of Solomon. Indeed, there was little history of his reign to be told; but he was an important character in the traditions of the nation. The author is interested in two things: the traditions of Solomon's greatness, and the building of the temple. The description of the erection of the temple occupies the center of this section, and on each side of it stand accounts of his court, and his power, wisdom, and wealth. The king has absorbed the state. One is not inclined to lay much stress on the order in which this material is arranged when it is seen that the LXX has a different order, and to some extent a different content. There must have been two recensions of Kings, both of which have come to us, one in Hebrew and one in Greek.

With Part II, the peculiar literary form which characterizes Kings begins, and continues to the end of the book, only partially broken by the insertion of long accounts of Elijah and Elisha. The form is that of brief accounts of the reigns of successive kings. The scheme is simple. When a king of either kingdom has been introduced, his reign is narrated, then those of all the kings of the other kingdom up to his death. See as an example 2 Kings 14 and 15. This scheme, to be perfect in its adjustment, requires an exact correlation of chronology. The preexilic Hebrews were not exact in chronology; and, while the editor has done the best possible, it is sometimes necessary to correct his dates from the contemporary Assyrian records.

Each account of a king is set in a literary framework, always taking the same general form, and differing somewhat for kings of Judah and of Israel. Examples are 1 Kings 14. 21f., 29f., 15. 1f., 7f., 9f., 23f., 25f., 31f. Notice what its form is for the beginning and the close of the reigns, and for the kings of each kingdom. The part of the formula

most important to the writer, and most significant of his purpose, is the judgment which he passes on each king. A study of these judgments, like that of the formula in Judges, gives us the author's point of view. Every king of Israel he condemns. "He walked in the way of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, and in his sin wherewith he made Israel to sin." That sin was making shrines at Bethel and Dan, so that the people need not go to Jerusalem to worship Jehovah. The condemnation is not for oppression of the people or bad government, but always because they worship elsewhere than at Jerusalem. No king of Judah is commended without qualification till Josiah, who destroyed the ancient shrines outside of Jerusalem. Some kings are said to have done well, "but the people still worshiped at the high places." In these formulas we see the point of view of the author. It is that of Deuteronomy. By that code he judges the kings, even those who preceded its promulgation. He, like the writer of Judges, is trying to show that prosperity depends on the proper worship of Jehovah. His philosophy of history is sometimes hard to fit into the facts. For example, the fall of Judah came not very long after the enforcement of this Deuteronomic law. The author accounts for it on the rather strange supposition that Jehovah found it impossible to forgive the nation for the sins of Manasseh, a hundred years before, and for that reason destroyed Judah (2 Kings 23. 26, 27).

If the book is compiled from a Deuteronomic point of view, we shall expect to find further passages which show it. They may be expected particularly in those sections which deal with the temple, or with the worship of other gods than Jehovah, or with the judgment of particular events. Passages containing evidence of such editing are, among others, 1 Kings 8. 23-53, the prayer of Solomon, one of the best portions of Deuteronomic editing in the Bible; 1 Kings 9. 1-9, which is full of characteristic Deuteronomic phrases; 2 Kings 17. 7-41, where the writer finds

reasons for the fall of Israel in accord with his philosophy of history.

The problem of sources is here very easy. The writer has named his main sources: The Acts of Solomon (1 Kings 11. 41); the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, and the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel. These Chronicles were probably not the court records, but were based on them. Sometimes our author has copied the sources bodily, as the authors of the earlier books did J and E; sometimes he has condensed them into brief sections, usually called Epitomes. The stories of Elijah and Elisha do not come from records of the royal houses. They bear all the marks of popular story, and seem to come from groups of prophetic traditions, which had gathered about the names of these great prophets. It is thought that there were two sets of them, one of Elijah and one of Elisha, differing slightly in literary characteristics. The reigns of the kings at the close of the book are not referred to sources, for the author was writing out of his own knowledge. The book, which begins with old popular stories, ends with personal experience, the best possible kind of history.

The judgment of the historical value of Kings must rest on the judgment of its sources. If one is inclined to see in the stories of Elisha and Elijah the legendary expansions which naturally gather about the figures of great leaders supposed to have supernatural power, that will in no way diminish our historical esteem of the two great books of Chronicles from which the author borrows, and still less, of the personal record of the fall of Jerusalem at the end of the book. From a literary point of view, the best part of the book is the vivid popular stories of the prophets. They also present the best religious teaching, for they emphasize the human qualities of kindness and justice between man and man, as well as of a devotion to God which is willing to risk life in his service.

The book seems to have had two stages of growth. Parts

of it indicate a time before the fall of Judah. It uses the phrase "unto this day" in a way not applicable later (1 Kings 8. 8; 9. 21). The final editing could not have been till after 586, and the book ends with a note about Jehoiachin which was appended not earlier than 562.

The religious interest of the book lies: (1) In the lesson which underlies all this course of books from Genesis on. God is guiding the nation, and the events of history work out his will. (2) In the vivid pictures of the great characters which are presented—Solomon, Josiah, Hezekiah, and especially the prophets Elijah, Elisha, and Isaiah. (3) In the truth of the author's thought, however much we may wish to modify his particular application of it, that the final judgment of men does not depend on the measure of their success, but on their attitude toward God.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. What are the subjects dealt with in the account of Solomon's reign, 1 Kings 1-11?
2. How is the Deuteronomic point of view shown in 1 Kings 11. 1-13, 2 Kings 17?
3. What are the formulas used for the beginning and the close of the accounts of the Kings? What differences between those for Judah and Israel? What the estimate of each king? (See 2 Kings 14ff.)
4. Read any three chapters of the Elisha and Elijah stories, 1 Kings 17 to 2 Kings 8. What qualities of popular stories in them? How does 1 Kings 21 show the prophetic attitude toward social questions?
5. In the sections read from Samuel and Kings, which are the most striking literary passages? Which show the author's purpose?
6. What are the great religious conceptions of Samuel and Kings, and what passages in your reading show them?
7. Estimate these books as (a) literature, (b) history, (c) religious teaching.
8. How would a modern historian's use of the same accounts differ from that of these books?

CHAPTER XIX

CHRONICLES, EZRA, AND NEHEMIAH

THERE are two series of histories of Israel in the Old Testament. One is the series of books from Genesis to Kings; the other the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The first series is composed of at least three separate works—the Hexateuch, Judges, and Samuel-Kings. The second was originally a single book, from one author. Both begin with Adam, but the second series covers the time before the kingdom merely by genealogies, omitting all the stories which made the early books of the other series such excellent literature. The real history begins with David. The books of Chronicles duplicate 2 Samuel and Kings; Ezra and Nehemiah contain postexilic history not covered in the first series.

On the whole, the first series may be called prophetic, although the priestly element appears in the source P of the Hexateuch. In the second series there is an entirely different atmosphere. The book is strongly priestly. Instead of the great prophetic teachings of the relation of sin and suffering, of Jehovah's guidance in history, of prosperity as dependent on the nation's service of the God, the writer's attention was engrossed with the ritual worship of the temple. He began with David, because that king prepared for the building of the temple. He narrated at great length the traditions about the ark before the temple was built; expanded the description of the dedication of the temple from the already long account in Kings; inserted lists of Levites, priests, and temple singers, and long descriptions of the institutions and services of the temple. So much attention is given to the temple choir that some have sup-

posed the author himself must have belonged to the guild of singers.

Not only the purpose of the book, but also its content is different. Almost nothing is given about the kingdom of Israel. Its kings are mentioned only when they come in contact with the kings of Judah. The book is almost exclusively a history of Judah, from the point of view of its institutional religion. Most of the personal history of David, Solomon, and the other kings, is left out. We miss the charming popular tales which made the books of Samuel such perennial sources of story literature. The secular events of the history are wholly subordinated to the ecclesiastical. Only one poem is introduced, and that is a psalm said to have been sung when the ark was brought to Jerusalem.

The sources of Chronicles are in the main our books of Samuel and Kings. This book furnishes the classic illustration of the compilation of Hebrew history from earlier sources. It is possible here to see how closely the compiler followed his sources and what changes he made. Aside from Samuel-Kings, the chronicler uses several other books. He cites by name twelve sources, several of which are probably different terms for the same books, but he evidently had at least the following books: (1) the canonical histories, the Hexateuch, Samuel and Kings; (2) a Book of Kings of Judah and Israel, containing some material not in the canonical books; (3) a midrash, or edifying expansion, of these books; (4) a collection of writings bearing the names of the earlier prophets Nathan, Gad, Iddo, and others; (5) the book of Isaiah. Whether his abundant additions in the interest of temple, priests, and Levites had any source in temple traditions, or whether they represent what he, with his priestly ideas of the ritual, conceives ought to have been true, no one can say. This new matter is mostly concerned with (1) lists of genealogies; (2) lists of names of Levites, temple singers, and priests; (3) state-

ments about the organization of worship; (4) comments on history, showing moral causes of events or explaining what were to him difficulties. He does not, like the writers of the early books, tell a story and trust it to make its own moral impress, but he points the moral, so that no dullard can miss it, as when he adds to the affecting tale of Saul's death, borrowed from the writer of Samuel, a comment that his fall was due to his disobedience of the command of God (1 Chron 10. 13f.).

The books of Ezra and Nehemiah show the same priestly interest. The former sources fail the writer here, but the material which he gathers is all narrated from the point of view of one who regards the institutions of religion as of prime importance. The sources purport to be certain official records, with the memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah. Ezra 4. 8 to 6. 18 is in Aramaic, probably indicating that the section was taken from a book in that language.

No part of the Bible is at present subject to a wider range of interpretations than the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. The student of history must at least change the order of the chapters somewhat to make intelligible history out of them, and most think that there must be still more radical changes. For the student of literature the most important question is: What is the nature of the memoirs of Ezra? They are quoted by the chronicler in the first person, as though he made extracts from the writing of Ezra himself. If that is the case, he has preserved for us a most important and interesting original document. But it is curious that the style of the memoirs of Ezra is very much the style of the chronicler himself, as one finds it in the portions of Chronicles which come from his pen. Has the writer of Chronicles thrown his account of the time of Ezra into the form of a personal memoir? If so, does it represent what took place, or what the chronicler, writing two or three hundred years later, supposed took place? Did Ezra ever live, or is he the idealized figure of the typical priestly re-

former, projected by the religious fervor of the chronicler? These questions have been raised within the last few years, and doubtless further study will find an answer, but at present they are still open questions.

The case regarding the memoir of Nehemiah is very different. That is also in the first person, and is written in totally different style from that of the chronicler, with a different point of view, presenting a personality which it would be difficult to imitate, and still more to invent; the work of an honest, sincere man, who frankly tells what he did and how he did it, and naïvely hopes God will remember the labors through which he has gone. No Old Testament prose writing is more of a "human document" than this simple story of the courtier and patriot who built the walls of Jerusalem. If the memoirs of Ezra are the production of the Chronicler, then we can see in that of Nehemiah where he found his model.

As an historian the Chronicler leaves much to be desired. His history is incomplete and one-sided. He systematically idealizes. Judah is too populous and prosperous. His figures are sometimes impossibly large (see 1 Chron 22. 14). His heroes, like David and Solomon, are presented as nearly blameless as possible. The religious institutions of his day are ascribed in their completeness to the time of David. The Chronicler has idealized history more than any other biblical writer. It follows that, wherever both cover the same ground, the earlier writers are to be used in preference to Chronicles. On the other hand, the memoir of Nehemiah is an original historical writing of great value, both as history and as literature.

The date of these books is certainly very late. The arrangements of the temple worship made by Nehemiah in 444 had already stood so long that the writer supposed they came from the time of David. A list of the descendants of Zerubbabel, governor of Judah at the return in 536, is given in 1 Chron 3. 19-24. Six generations are listed, which,

allowing thirty years for a generation, would bring the list down to about 350; we may assume that the writer would bring such a list to his own time. But the LXX, by reading "his son" instead of "sons of" in v. 21, gives eleven generations, which would bring the date down to about 200. Another indication of later date is that Neh 12. 11 gives, as the last name in a list of priests, Jaddua, the name which Josephus assigns to the high priest in the time of Alexander's conquest in 332. That late date gives the work a special interest. It may not be of the highest value as a history of times long past, but it is of great interest as showing what were the conceptions and ideals of a priestly Jew of the third century before Christ. In these books we first catch a picture of the Judaism of the New Testament period, intensely religious, deeply earnest, proud of its past, insistent upon the ritual of religion, but legalistic rather than prophetic. The spirit of the Chronicler, with its excellencies and defects, was the spirit of the scribes and Pharisees of the New Testament period.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Compare 1 Chron 13, 15 and 16 with 2 Sam 6, noting characteristic changes and additions.
2. Compare 1 Chron 17 and 2 Sam 7; 2 Chron 14 to 16 and 1 Kings 15. 8-34.
3. Read Ezra 9. 1 to 10. 17. What are the ideals presented?
4. Read Neh 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 13 for (a) the character of the writer, (b) his national and religious ideals.
5. In the passages read, how does Chronicles compare with Samuel-Kings in purpose and point of view?

CHAPTER XX

THE SHORT STORIES

RUTH, JONAH, ESTHER

THESE three books, found in different parts of our English Bible, fall into the same class as literature. They represent the short story. They differ from the folk-tale in being less simple and naïve in form. They are literary in style, more or less elaborate in plot, and issue in a definite climax. They are literary works, not the mere transcription of popular tales. From what we know of literary methods in Israel, we should hardly expect free invention on the part of writers, and each of the stories seems to be based on older traditions. The chief interest, however, lies, not in the question of the remote origin of the story, but in its literary development and the purpose of the writer. The literary development is skillfully managed. Each story is of a different kind from the others, and each is excellent in its class. The purpose of the writer is practical. The ancient Hebrews were not conscious artists, and in none of the biblical books is the merely artistic impulse an adequate explanation of the writer's purpose. He wants to leave some impression, to teach some lesson. While, therefore, the literary form is of interest, the real significance of the book lies in the author's object.

RUTH

In the Hebrew Bible this story is one of a group of five small books called the Megilloth, or Rolls. The LXX scattered this collection, and placed this story after the book of Judges.

The story of Ruth is an idyl. It is set in the rough, wild times of the Judges. We have stories coming from that

time in the book of Judges, and they show a rude, barbaric people, whose native element is war and plunder. In the story of Ruth an Arcadian simplicity prevails, and we follow the simple fortunes of a Judæan family. No evil character comes on the scene. Scarcely a suspicion of anything but the utmost innocence is allowed to cross the page. The characters are all simple, open, affectionate, pious.

The date is far later than the period of the Judges. The author, looking back, idealizes that period, and finds it necessary to explain old customs (4. 7). Some of the linguistic peculiarities of the book point toward a late date. In reading the story, note the skill with which it centers everything about its heroine, Ruth; the abundant use of detail; the pictures of rural life; the climax at the end, where the Moabitish maiden becomes the ancestress of the great national hero, David. In a sense, it is a poem. Hebrew had no narrative poetry, and when an author would treat narrative in a poetic spirit he put the narrative in prose, and the oracle, or saying, which made the central idea of the story, in verse. See how in 1. 16, 17 Ruth's speech is in Hebrew poetry, a series of couplets with parallelism. This passage gives the central theme of the book—Ruth's choice of Naomi, of her nation and her God; the rest of the book skillfully develops the theme.

The book was probably based upon some tradition. A late Jewish writer would have been bold indeed to have given David a foreign ancestress unless there was some ground in tradition for it. In 1 Sam. 22. 3, 4 it is related that David sent his father and mother to Moab for safety from Saul's anger, a natural act if the family were partly Moabitish. The full story, however, is a late development. The names are in part symbolic, and Naomi, "pleasant"; Mahlon and Chilion, "sickly" and "wasting," mark an idealized story.

The interest of the story lies in (1) its literary charm; (2) the beauty of the characters portrayed, especially that of Ruth; (3) the writer's purpose. What was this purpose?

It has been suggested that it was to preserve a tradition about David; but such purely historical interest is not in accord with the trend of Hebrew literature. It also illustrates family affection and devotion to old customs, like the duty of the next of kin; but it is possible that the central purpose of the book is more definite than that. The center of the story is the nobility of the foreign Ruth and her welcome to the position of Hebrew wife. It may well be a defense of foreign marriages. If so, that furnishes a clue to the circumstances of its origin. Ezra 9, 10 and Neh 13. 23-31 tell how, after the exile, the Jews had married foreign wives, but the families were separated by Ezra and Nehemiah, and the wives and children sent away. There must have been many who deeply resented the breaking up of happy homes in this way, and Ruth may have been written in protest against the cruel Puritanism. The author would show that this new rigidity had no ancient sanction. There was a tradition that even David was of mixed blood. The writer uses the tradition, and draws the character of Ruth so attractively that he needs to add no plea for foreign marriages. His heroine does that for him, in her sweetness and simplicity, in her devotion to Jehovah, far better than any argument. And when the foreigner is married to a Hebrew, the village elders add their blessing in the name of the God of Israel, who is now being invoked to drive away wives as worthy and well beloved as was Ruth. If this was the origin of the book, its date falls between 458 and 390. This seems the most probable theory of its origin and purpose. In any case, the story presents a literary charm and a breadth of view which will always make it one of the most attractive books in Hebrew literature. Brief as it is, it is a masterpiece in its own field.

JONAH

Many books of the Bible have been neglected; this book has been degraded. Serious discussions have been too often

concerned with the trivial question of its historical character, and the story of Jonah and the fish has served only as a poor joke. As a matter of fact, the book contains the most lofty teaching about God in all the Old Testament. It is well worth serious study. The book stands, both in Hebrew and English, among the prophets; but this is only because it is a story about a prophet. It contains only one prophetic utterance, the summary of Jonah's message to Nineveh, "Yet forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed."

The first step in the study of this book is to read it through as a short story. Note its vividness, its richness of detail, its rapidity of movement, its characterization of Jonah. Does the writer mean to make his hero ridiculous? The poem in 2. 2-9 is a mosaic of passages from postexilic Psalms, and is sometimes supposed to be a later addition. The whole book is postexilic. The term "king of Nineveh" was, so far as known, not used during the existence of the Assyrian empire. The picture of the king—and no ancient kings were more haughty than those of Assyria—coming down from his throne at the bidding of a Hebrew prophet; of the whole city moved at the preaching of this provincial from an outlying province, so that the very cattle were placed in mourning (3. 7, 8), is easiest to explain if told of a distant and unfamiliar past. Nineveh was no longer in existence at the time of writing (3. 3). The idioms and vocabulary of the book are late Hebrew. Their affiliations are not with the preexilic prophets, but with the later books, like Ecclesiastes. The name Jonah is found in 2 Kings 14. 25, where he is said to have prophesied the expansion of Israel under Jeroboam II. He must, then, have spoken somewhat before the time of Amos, whose date is 760 B. C. This book can hardly have been written before 450, and may be much later. We shall not expect to find accurate history in this tale whose scene was laid three or four hundred years before. Why suppose that the author ever intended it to be taken as history? No one ever would have supposed it except for

a somewhat mechanical view that all the Bible must be exact history. This writer has written "fiction" across his little story as plainly as possible. We may well suppose that he would be amazed to know that anyone ever discussed the possible historical verity of the fish swallowing Jonah; and he would be saddened to think that such futile discussions had obscured the great lessons he wished to teach. If Christ used fiction in parables, why should not a Hebrew teacher use it in short stories?

What, then, is the writer's purpose? Various purposes have been suggested, all representing phases of the same idea.

1. The universal compassion of God, who hears whenever men cry to him. In ch. 1 the sailors call upon God, and he saves them; in ch. 2 Jonah calls upon God, and he saves him; in ch. 3 the Ninevites call upon God, and he saves them; in ch. 4 God proclaims his compassion upon all the helpless, even the beasts.

2. The conditional element in prophecy. God condemns; but if men will turn to him, he will gladly transform condemnation into blessing.

3. An allegory of the mission of Israel. God sends Israel to the Gentile world, but Israel is too exclusive to welcome its mission, therefore it was swallowed up by Babylon, as by a great sea monster. But Israel had come out of the exile, and now God gave it a mission again. Would it obey, or would it childishly pout and fret because God was compassionate to other nations as well as to Israel?

4. The universal compassion of God, an idea much like 3, but not emphasizing elements of allegory. Jonah is the type of exclusive Israel, who cannot see how great is God's compassion. It is the earliest representation of the thought of the universalism of Paul—"to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile." Notice the humorous sarcasm in the picture of the selfish Jonah. Notice the skill of the writer in making the capital of the Assyrian empire, whose memory was

execrated by all Jews, the recipient of God's love. If God could care for Ninevites, certainly no one can be excluded from his compassion. Nowhere else in the Old Testament is there such a lofty conception of the all-embracing love of God.

The main purpose of the writer doubtless is to draw a sharp contrast between God's wide love and man's selfish exclusiveness. All the suggestions above are phases of this thought. The occasion for the book may be the separation of foreign wives from Israel's households, in the time of Nehemiah and Ezra, and the book may be, with Ruth, a protest against this Jewish Puritanism. This would fix its date between 450 and 390. The language, however, seems to point to a later date, perhaps 300. Whenever written, this little story, grotesque and awkward as are some of the devices of its author, is the crown of the Old Testament conception of God.

ESTHER

This story, like Ruth, is in the Hebrew Bible one of the Megilloth. The LXX editors, who put Ruth after Judges, put Esther after Nehemiah, attempting to arrange the books according to the chronology of their contents. This story is totally unlike the others. In place of the idyllic rustic simplicity of Ruth, we have the splendor and the intrigues of an imperial court; instead of the abundant use of the supernatural in Jonah, not even the mention of the name of God or any suggestion of miracle. The whole story lies in the bare levels of human plot and scheming.

Of these three stories, this is the most dramatic. It is full of unexpected turns and shifting scenes. In this dramatic character lies the appeal of the story as literature. There is also abundance of detail, especially where the writer attempts to describe the Persian court and its splendors. Read the book for the skillful development of a plot of Oriental intrigue and indirection.

In this book also is raised the question of its historical

value. Certain things are on their face unhistorical. The story is laid in the third year of Xerxes (485-465), the Persian king who invaded Greece. Mordecai, who later became viceroy, is said to have been among the captives in the first captivity of Jerusalem, in 597 (2. 6). How old does the author suppose him to have been? Herodotus says that the queens of Persia were chosen from one of the seven noble families, and gives the name of the queen of Xerxes as Amestris. She was certainly neither Vashti nor Esther (Her. III, 84; VII, 114; IX, 112). It is possible that some Jewish maiden may have been a favorite in the court, but that does not satisfy the conditions of the story, where Esther is queen. Since truth is sometimes stranger than fiction, it might not be fair to bring as an objection the dramatic coincidence of Haman, coming to obtain permission to hang Mordecai, and compelled by a series of coincidences to be the herald of his enemy's honor on the streets of the city. One can only say that Oriental story-tellers have always found a peculiar delight in such situations, which the kaleidoscopic changes of Eastern courts make possible. Of late years a mythological origin of the story has been suggested. Attempts have been made to trace it to a Babylonian myth. The proper names certainly suggest Babylonian origin. Mordecai is derived from the Babylonian god Marduk; Esther suggests Ishtar, and Haman and Vashti, an Elamite god and goddess, Hammun and Masti. The myth behind the story would then represent the conflict between the gods of Babylonia and of Elam. While this may be probable, it is at best a theory, and the myth has traveled a long road before it has been embodied in this dramatic story. This whole problem of a mythical origin belongs rather to the field of comparative mythology than of biblical literature. Here we are interested rather in the qualities of the story and in the author's purpose.

The dramatic quality of the story has been spoken of above. It is a story of incident rather than, like Ruth, of

character. From a Western point of view the queen Vashti, who dared maintain her womanly dignity in the face of a drunken monarch's demand, is the noblest character in the book, but we may be sure that the author did not so intend. There are elements of nobility in Esther. She takes her life in her hand to save her people, after her uncle has driven her to it. But, after all, it is about events, not persons, that the interest of the story gathers. No biblical story writer uses such a mass of events and weaves them together so skillfully as the writer of this tale.

The purpose of the story is obvious. It is to tell the traditional origin of the feast of Purim. The writer derives the name from a Persian word, *pur*, meaning lot (9. 24); but no such word is known in ancient Persian. The LXX gives as the name of the feast Phrourim. There was a Persian feast of the dead, Farwardigan, with which Purim has sometimes been connected. A Babylonian New Year's feast has also been suggested as a possible origin. Undoubtedly it was borrowed from some source, and adapted to Jewish uses. Most religious festivals in the higher religions have been borrowed and adapted; Christmas is a good illustration. Purim is first mentioned under the name of "the day of Mordecai," in 2 Maccabees 15. 36, written in the first century B. C. The feast was not looked upon with favor by the Jews, because of its roystering character. Later, in the days when Christians persecuted the Jews, it came to be an occasion for the expression of the growing hate of Gentiles, and was extremely popular. The book of Esther, which was not regarded as unquestionably a part of the Scriptures till after the first Christian century, became also very popular, and is always read at Purim.

Objection to the moral tone of the book has been made from the days when the Jewish rabbis first discussed whether it ought to be in the canon. It is easy to find moral faults. Esther is asked, after a day of massacre, what she desires, and she promptly asks for another day of killing. There

is no open religious interest. Not only is the name of God omitted, but prayer, humility, thanks to God, are lacking. On the occasion of a great national deliverance, instead of gratitude to God, the Jews send gifts to one another, with feasting "and a good day."

Yet there is another side. Could any Jew, it is asked, have failed to see the hand of God in the sleepless night of the king? Can a great deliverance come to the nation, and Jehovah not have done it? Any Jew would have thought of God as standing behind all this story.

Of the date, one can only say that it is very late. The writer of Ecclesiasticus (180 B. C.) gives a list of Jewish worthies, but does not mention Mordecai. We have seen that the writer of 2 Mac knows the name. The second century B. C. may be the period when the book was written.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Write a brief summary of each of the short stories, trying to do it in such a way as to bring out the author's purpose.
2. Considered as short stories, which is the best, and why?
3. What is the most attractive quality in each story?
4. Does the writer intend to make Jonah ludicrous? If so, why?
5. Does the use of the supernatural detract from the power of the story of Jonah, or enhance it?
6. Write Ruth 1. 16, 17 in verse form.
7. Is the book of Esther "cruel and bloodthirsty, breathing a spirit of vengeance and hatred," or is it noble and patriotic, and filled with the presence of God?
8. Is Esther the queen a noble character?
9. What were the Hebrew religious values of each of these books? What are their present religious values?

THE BOOKS OF POETRY AND WISDOM

CHAPTER XXI

HEBREW POETRY AND WISDOM

I. HEBREW POETRY

THE essence of poetry is rhythm. At the lowest, poetry is words put in rhythmical form. Among primitive races the mere pleasure of the rhythmical flow suffices to give permanent remembrance to the verse, as is the case also with some children's rhymes. Rhythmical flow suggests emotion, and very early men began using rhythm to express or increase the emotions of situations in life; so that poetry came to be particularly the language of the emotions; of joy and sorrow, of triumph and defeat, of the love of a mother and the tribal pride in a great hero. When the worship of the gods became emotional, then praise and prayer were expressed in poetry. As the god became greater with the growth of the nation, the religious poems in his praise became more lofty and more formal. Most great religions possess a rich body of religious poetry, in which the highest ideals of the religion find expression, and the Hebrew religion is no exception.

Rhythm of words is expressed in two main ways; by feet, measured by the length of syllables, as in the Greek and Latin poetry, and by stress of accent, as in some German and English poetry. The whole subject of Hebrew meter is still under discussion, and there is as yet no single system on which all agree, but it is generally held that the rhythm is accentual, a line consisting of a series of syllables falling into an ordered succession of accent beats. An illustration in English of this kind of accented verse is:

He made darkness his hiding place, his pavilion about him,
Darkness of waters, thick clouds of the skies (see Psa 18. 11).

The rhythm of words, however, can seldom be successfully translated from one language to another. The student of poetry in translation must depend for the poetic appeal largely on beauty of thought. Here Hebrew poetry has a great advantage over that of European literatures. It possesses a rhythm of thought, as well as of words; so that it is possible to keep the essential poetical form of Hebrew poetry in translation. In a literature destined for world-wide use this is a great literary asset.

This rhythm of thought is commonly known as parallelism. It consists of a relation of thought between two or more consecutive lines of verse. Four kinds of parallelism are usually recognized:

1. Synonymous; where the same thought is expressed in two or more lines.
2. Antithetic; where contrasting thoughts are expressed.
3. Synthetic; where the second line continues and completes the thought of the first.
4. Climactic; where the second line takes up the words of the first and adds to the thought.

The first three of these are about equally common in Hebrew poetry; the fourth is very rare, and is sometimes regarded as coming under the third. Examples:

1. The earth is Jehovah's and the fullness thereof;
The world, and they that dwell therein.

Both lines express one fundamental idea. What is it?

2. Jehovah knoweth the way of the righteous;
But the way of the wicked shall perish.

The lines express contrasting fundamental ideas. What are they?

3. Though war should rise against me
Even then will I be confident.

The thought of the first line is completed by that of the second.

4. Give unto Jehovah, O ye sons of the mighty,
Give unto Jehovah glory and strength.

This verse (Psa 29. 1) is one of the very few perfect examples of climactic parallelism in Hebrew poetry.

While parallelism always involves at least two lines, it sometimes involves three, and occasionally four or more. Some of the poems are arranged in stanzas of irregular length, occasionally with refrains. See Psa 42, 43. Some poems are alphabetic in arrangement. Alliteration, assonance, and rhyme are occasionally used, but the universal characteristic of Hebrew poetry is parallelism.

The study of the parallelism of a Hebrew poem is important for its interpretation. It calls for an understanding of the author's thought. The determination of whether a particular parallelism is synonymous or synthetic often demands a careful consideration of the relation in which the poet intended to set two ideas. The appreciation of Hebrew poetry is always aided by attention to its parallelism.

The Bible contains no narrative poetry, and no true drama. Parallelism would impede the smooth flow of narration. When a Hebrew writer wished to treat a narration in the spirit of poetry, he put the narrative in prose, and the speeches, especially those giving the key to the narration, in verse. See Ruth, where 1. 16, 17 is in verse; the story of Balaam, Num 22 to 24; and Job, where the poem begins and ends with a prose story. True drama is lacking because the Hebrews, having no theater, had no occasion for it. The classes of Hebrew poetry are lyric, elegy, oratory, oracles in poetic form (much of the prophets), and gnomic, or didactic poetry. The Psalms, and certain poems in the historical books are lyric. Examples of elegy are Lamentations, and the lament of David over Saul, in 2 Sam 1. Gnomic poetry is found in the wisdom books. The subject matter of biblical poetry is not all religious. It includes fragments of folk-songs connected with labor (Num 21. 17,

18; Cant 2. 15); war songs (Gen 4. 23, 24; Judg 5); love poems (Canticles). Among the Hebrews, as elsewhere, all elements of life which appealed strongly to the imagination or the emotions were occasions for poetry. The Bible has preserved only what became connected, directly or indirectly, with religion.

II. WISDOM LITERATURE

The term Wisdom Literature is used to designate the books of Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes; and of Ecclesiasticus (or the Son of Sirach) and The Wisdom of Solomon, in the Apocrypha. The same characteristics belong to certain Psalms, as 15, 37, 49, and in some measure to the book of James in the New Testament. In discussions of this subject, the Hebrew word *Hokhmah* (wisdom) is often used. Wisdom is the nearest approach that the Hebrew literature makes to philosophy, but it is not philosophical in the technical sense of the word; the wisdom writers are not concerned with the central problem of the universe, but with the particular problems of practical life. It concerned itself with everything. No province of life was too lofty, none too humble, for Wisdom to enter. It touches on the conduct of a king, the administration of law, the training of a family, the ordering of a household, industry, honesty, sobriety, agriculture, friendship, the problem of suffering, the question of whether life is worth while, and many other subjects. It furnishes, on the whole, cool, keen, clear-sighted criticism of life. It gives good common sense advice. Yet, though dealing so largely with secular subjects, it is distinctly religious in spirit. It inculcates prudence, shrewdness, and industry, but always with a consciousness of the presence of God. A saying which occurs several times is that "the fear of Jehovah is the beginning of wisdom." All wisdom is based on the thought of God ruling life. It shows the falsity of our division between sacred and secular. All life is subject to the ordering of the Almighty. "The

lot is cast into the lap; but the whole disposing thereof is of Jehovah."

The motive to right action in the wisdom books is plainly utilitarian. It is better to be good than to be bad. "The gift of Jehovah remains with the godly." It is the prudential policy, that "honesty is the best policy." But when held in an unselfish way the prudential motive is not to be despised. It falls in with the practical aim of this literature, which was designed, not to delight the æsthete or the mystic, but to help plain people live better lives. The distinction of wisdom among the classes of Hebrew literature is its universalism. The national phrases which marked the prophets are here totally lacking—phrases like "Zion," "Israel," "my people," "saith Jehovah." One hears nothing here of a coming Messiah, of obligations for sacrifices or temple worship. The fundamental ethical ideas of the prophets are here, but stated rather as maxims of broad, human morals than as demands of a national God. The literature is the application of common sense to a religious view of the duties and problems of life.

The dates of the Wisdom literature will be considered in connection with each book. In general, the literature is late postexilic. While it is so wanting in definite historical references that exact dating is usually impossible, all evidences point to the later Persian and Greek periods, from about 400 to about 180 B. C.

CHAPTER XXII

PSALMS

THE book of Psalms was the hymn book of the second temple. In the Hebrew canon it stands at the head of the third collection, the Writings, showing that it was regarded as the most important book in the group. The English Revised Version keeps the division of the Hebrew Psalter into five books: 1 to 41, 42 to 72, 73 to 89, 90 to 106, 107 to 150. Each book ends with a doxology, now numbered among the verses of the last psalm of the book; except the final psalm of the fifth book, all of which is a doxology. This division is old, dating from before the LXX translation, but it is artificial. The Jewish rabbis were probably correct in holding that it was made in imitation of the five books of the Pentateuch.

The real division is into three groups:

(1) 1 to 41, (2) 42 to 89, (3) 90 to 150. (1) uses Jehovah mostly for the divine name; (2) uses Elohim mostly; (3) uses Jehovah exclusively, except in 108 and 144 to 149. Psalms are repeated in the different groups, sometimes with the divine name changed. Compare 14 and 53; 40. 13-17 and 70. It is evident that the present book of Psalms was made up of three books, which contained different editions of a few hymns, and which used by preference different names for God. Then, before the triple division had been forgotten, some editor divided two of the books, making five divisions.

The growth of the book can be traced one step farther back. The superscriptions give us traces of smaller groups: Psalms of Asaph, Psalms of the Sons of Korah, Psalms of Ascents, and Psalms of David. Likenesses can sometimes

be traced between the Psalms in these groups, and it is probable that they indicate still earlier hymn books, taken up into the three larger books.

The origin of any particular psalm is often a far more complicated problem. Some of these poems probably contained few clues as to date or occasion, when first written. Some have been edited for liturgical purposes, and more or less changed. An example is *Psa 51*, which was originally an anti-priestly poem (vv. 16, 17), but was given a priestly point of view by the addition of 18, 19. It is likely that references to special circumstances of origin have often been taken out to fit the poems for general use. Sometimes two poems are combined into one (*Psa 57. 7-11* and *60. 5-12* combined in 108. See *Psa 19* for an example of probable combination). Sometimes one poem is separated into two (*Psa 42, 43*). The result is that it is often impossible to tell when or under what circumstances a poem was first written. Would it be possible, in a modern hymn book, to date the hymns without the aid of the names of authors?

In some cases, as *Psa 137*, the origin of a psalm is very evident. *Psa 42, 43* is usually assigned to the opening of the exile, as a song which presents the memory of the captives' journey from Palestine to Babylon; though it is possible to connect it with earlier captivities of parts of northern Israel. Other possible exilic psalms are 102, 89, 120, 121. The exilic psalms show (1) the sense of suffering; (2) a confidence that God will yet give his blessing to the nation. After the exile the religious life of Israel represented so many varying phases that some appropriate situation can be found to fit many psalms. There was joy in the newly built temple, but there followed disappointment and spiritual deadness, as *Malachi* shows. There were sometimes bright hopes of prosperity for Israel, and then came the discouragement of the disillusioning years. But joy and sorrow come in all ages, and one cannot put in this period all the poems that express it. We must look for more

close evidence, while recognizing that many psalms may belong here whose origin cannot be surely traced. References to the temple, unless something else in the psalm forbids, are usually to be assigned to this period. Here belong the liturgical psalms, somewhat artificial hymns written for the temple service, many of which are found in the fifth book of the Psalter. It is certain that at least a large number of the psalms are from the exilic and post-exilic periods.

The greatest problems presented by the book of Psalms are three: (1) Are there Davidic psalms? (2) If not, are there preexilic psalms? (3) Are there Maccabean psalms?

1. The superscriptions assign seventy-three of the one hundred and fifty psalms to David. It is improbable that half the psalm literature of the nation came from one man, and he so early in the nation's history. In the LXX thirteen are given to David which are not so ascribed in Hebrew, and four are taken from him. The "of David" in the superscriptions probably means, in most cases, not authorship, but the book from which the later editors derived the psalms. Some of the superscriptions, however, were at some time in the history of the book taken to mean authorship, for they go on to assign circumstances in David's life under which the psalm is said to have been written. One such psalm, 18, is also found in 2 Sam 22. In most cases it is easy to see why some editor has guessed that the psalm was by David; he has found some expression which seemed to him to fit into a situation in David's life. *Psa* 54. 3, "Strangers have risen up against me," suggested the Ziphites betraying David to Saul; the appeal to God in the midst of trouble in *Psa* 57, the time when David hid from Saul in a cave.

There are four tests of the Davidic origin of a psalm: (1) Language. A psalm containing words found elsewhere only in late literature cannot be assigned to David. (2) Historical allusions. If these represent a time later than

David's, the psalm cannot be his. (3) Thought. If the psalm contains ideas which belong to a later age, or are at radical variance with the David of the historical books, the psalm cannot be his. (4) Theological ideas. These ideas changed in Israel as elsewhere. A psalm containing ideas of a later age cannot be David's. These standards are universally accepted, but the results of their application are not always the same. (a) Some think that they are able to find psalms probably Davidic. (b) More concede that there may be Davidic psalms, but hold that it is impossible to pick them out. They may exist in fragments, embedded in later editing, like 24. 7-10, which may be connected with the bringing of the ark to Jerusalem. (c) Some are quite confident that there are no Davidic psalms, and even that the historic David was not the kind of a man from whom we may expect the type of literature we find in the Psalms. The trend of modern biblical study is to reduce the emphasis upon Davidic psalms, and to insist that the value of a psalm, like that of other literature, depends on what it is, not upon who wrote it.

2. Those who hold that there are no Davidic psalms raise the further question whether any of the psalms were written before the exile. Some claim that at least the "royal psalms," those in which a king is mentioned, must be preexilic; as 2, 18, 20, 21, 45, 61, 63, 72. Others hold that the king is an ideal figure of postexilic hope, or in some cases, a real king of the late Maccabean kingdom. There is, however, a greater tendency to ascribe particular psalms to the pre-exilic period than there is to assign any to David. It is asked, on the one hand, Is it probable that the religion of Jehovah, with its rich prophetic literature, had no songs of praise to him through all these centuries? It is asked, on the other hand, Are there any psalms which require the assumption of a preexilic origin?

3. There is more unanimity of opinion regarding Maccabean psalms. Nearly all hold that there are a few; the

question on which difference arises is, How many? The Maccabean period was a time that tried men's souls, when the religion of Jehovah came near being drowned in the blood of its devotees, when only the heroism of a few saved the religion from final extinction. Is it possible that no hymn of prayer or praise came from it, to be sung in the rededicated temple? Or, on the other hand, was it too late for such songs to find their way into the book of Psalms? A few songs, expressing the idea of the sufferings of a righteous nation, and sometimes containing references to the defiled temple, fit well into this period. Such are *Psa* 44, 74, 79, 80, 83, 86.

If there is so much uncertainty in the date of the Psalms, why give any attention to it? Why not treat them simply as timeless poems, and ignore the circumstances of their origin? Because, with all its uncertainty in particular cases, nothing vivifies a psalm so much as to realize that it had an historical origin, that it was the expression of the deep feeling of some soul. It is worth while to become accustomed to look for the writer behind the words. The Psalms are more than mere literature; they are the expression of life. To search for the circumstances under which they were written, even though we cannot always be sure that we have found it, is at least to make an effort to get in touch with that life, and catch the inspiration of its human fellowship.

These one hundred and fifty poems present a wide variety of literary qualities. Some of them are among the choicest lyrics in the world, but not all of them reach so high a poetic level. Even those which lack beauty as poetry often possess other qualities which give them value as religious literature. *Psa* 119, an elaborate alphabetic psalm, with no poetic fire, expresses the devotion of its author to the law of God; 136, with its constant refrain, is in part a composite from 135, and impresses, by its constant reiteration, one great thought about God, "His mercy endureth for

ever." The temple psalms, rather mechanical compositions of people who set out to write hymns, are yet lofty expressions of praise to God and confidence in his power (for example, 148, 150).

Certain groups of the Psalms have an especial literary interest. One is, to borrow a term from mystic literature, the songs of the practice of the presence of God. They voice the trust of the individual in the power of Jehovah. It may be that, as edited, the "I" meant the congregation of worshipers, but originally it must have expressed the religious feeling of the writer. The poems strike three notes: humility, confidence, gladness. Some psalms which are most familiar belong in this group. They are such psalms as 23, 51, 91, 6, 27, 38, 40, 42, 46, 90. A second group might be called songs of the majesty of God. They are more objective than the first, stately poems, worthy in style to express praise of the ruler of the universe. Among these are 24, 48, 50, 96-100. A third group is the nature songs; not numerous, but among the best psalms. The writers come to nature bringing the conception of God with them, and so the poems become religious. They are 8, 19. 1-6, 29, 65, 93, 104. A group interesting for quite a different reason is that of the imprecatory psalms. They are poems which pronounce curses upon enemies, like 137, 68 (see vv. 21 to 23), 69 (see vv. 22-28), 109. Fancy singing these savage words in praise of God! We must recognize the ethical limitations of the writers. Such sentiments are perfectly natural, but that does not make them right. These poems do not present models of conduct or of spirit. We shall do better to recognize frankly the moral limitations of these poets, and then acknowledge that no Christian nation is free from the same blots. It will take a long time to transform national hatreds into brotherly love.

On the whole, after making all proper literary and ethical deductions, the Psalter is the best collection of religious lyrics which the world possesses. The history of its growth

helps in part to explain this. From the beginning of the exile to the Maccabean period is about four hundred years. Lay out this time over the history of English literature, and how much would it cover? If we assume that there are Davidic psalms, we must add at least four hundred years more to the history of the book. Even in the shorter period the nation went through the widest vicissitudes of fortune. All these varying experiences were reflected in its religious poetry, the only poetry of which the nation produced any great body. At the end of the period we have a selection of one hundred and fifty short poems. It is not surprising that they represent a wide range of religious experience, and can be used by people of all nations and cultures in all parts of the world. The marvel is that they contain so few things which the world has outgrown. In these psalms the religious experience of the Hebrew race finds its most exalted poetic expression. In them are found conceptions of the majesty of God, of his care for men, of perfect trust in his wisdom and power, which make the Psalter more influential than any other book of the Old Testament in developing and expressing a rich religious experience.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Name the parallelism in twenty successive verses, from any portion of the Psalms. Note any parallelism between verses and stanzas, as well as between lines. How does the study of parallelism assist the interpretation of the writer's thought in this passage?
2. Read for elaborate parallelism, acrostic, stanza structure or refrain Psa 1, 24, 7-10, 42 and 43, 46, 99, 107, 118, 136.
3. Compare repeated psalms and note any changes: 14 and 53; 40, 13-17 and 70; 57, 7-11, 60, 5-12 and 108; 135, 10-12 and 136, 17-22.
4. Read for evidences of date, 137, 42, 43, 74, 79, 89, 102, 107, 115, 120, 126, 147.
5. Read any group of ten successive psalms, and gather up the main religious and national ideas presented.
6. In the nature psalms, 8, 19, 1-6, 29, 65, 93, 104, what aspects

of nature are noted? How does the poet make his contemplation of nature religious?

7. Some of the best known psalms are 23, 51, 19, 90, 91, 1. What qualities have made them familiar?
8. Which psalm of those you have read is the best literature, and why?

CHAPTER XXIII

PROVERBS

THE book of Proverbs is the simplest expression of the Hebrew wisdom. It is a miscellaneous collection of eight pamphlets and a preface, presenting different literary forms and coming from different authors in different times. The unity lies in the purpose and in the general type of literature. The purpose is expressed in the preface (1. 1-6) as being instruction in morals and good living. The writer of the preface sees in this collection a handbook of practical life. The Orient has always been fond of such books. The best-known treatises in the Chinese Classics, the Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean, are of this sort. India possesses two popular handbooks of instruction, in which proverbs are skillfully woven into fables, the Panchatantra, and the Hitopadesa. None of them equal Proverbs in loftiness of view and pungency of expression. The book gives us wit, in the sense of concentrated expressions of the keenest observation of life. With the wit is often coupled humor. Sometimes it lies in the situation, like the poem about the drunken man, who says, "When I get over this, I'll have some more" (23. 29-35); and the lazy man, too tired to lift food to his mouth (26. 15). Sometimes there is the unexpected turn showing a hidden congruity in incongruous things, which makes so much of American humor, like, "a whip for the horse, a bridle for the ass, and a rod for the back of fools" (26. 3); "Confidence in an unfaithful man in time of trouble is like a broken tooth and a foot out of joint" (25. 19).

Nations differ as to the combinations which seem humor-

ous, and doubtless much humor is hidden in what seem to us merely loose collocations of ideas. Sometimes there is a keen insight into the facts of life, wittily expressed: "It's nothing. It's nothing," the buyer says; when he has gone away, then he brags" (20. 14). "Let thy foot be seldom in thy neighbor's house, lest he get tired of thee and hate thee" (25. 17). The reader will find much wit and humor, especially in the collections called "Proverbs of Solomon." With it, however, goes a strong ethical sense, emphasis on industry and honesty, and the fundamental profitableness of right living. Life should be balanced, sane, judicious, as well as moral; and back of all should stand the sense of responsibility to God, for "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." It is a simple philosophy of life, but wholesome for any age and any race.

The literary structure is also simple. After the brief editorial preface (1. 1-6), there are eight divisions, mostly marked by headings:

1. Chs. 1 to 9. The Praise of Wisdom.
2. Ch. 10. 1 to 22. 16. The Proverbs of Solomon.
3. Chs. 22. 17 to 24. 22. The Words of the Wise.
4. Ch. 24. 23-34. Further Words of the Wise.
5. Chs. 25 to 29. A Second Collection of Proverbs of Solomon.
6. Ch. 30. The Words of Agur.
7. Ch. 31. 1-9. The Words of King Lemuel.
8. Ch. 31. 10-31. The Praise of a Good Woman.

1. The Praise of Wisdom is made up, not of proverbs, but of a series of short poems, so much alike that it is difficult to divide between them. Some scholars enumerate seven or eight, some fourteen or sixteen. Whether they come from the same author is immaterial; they represent the same phase of thought. Some of the best poems are the Introduction, 1. 7-19; the Call of Wisdom, 1. 20-33; the Commendation of Wisdom, 2 and 3; the Condemnation of Laziness, 6. 6-11; the Invitation of Wisdom, 8; the Contrast of Personified Wisdom and Folly, 9.

These should be read, as presenting its substance of thought, even if the whole section is not read. An exact date is impossible to fix. It must be late in the development of this kind of literature, for wisdom is here self-conscious, describes itself, and speculates about itself. This phase reaches a climax in ch. 8, where wisdom is not only an attribute of man, but of God also. Notice the relation of the divine side of wisdom to the creation (8. 22-31). No other passage in Proverbs gives so lofty a conception of wisdom; elsewhere it is an attribute of man, and its foundation is the fear of Jehovah.

2. The Proverbs of Solomon is the typical collection of proverbs. The section presents a surprising uniformity. Each proverb is detached, and consists of two lines of three accent beats each. A seeming exception, 19. 7, is due to a line of one proverb having dropped out of the text, as the LXX shows. There is a curious arrangement of parallelism. To ch. 15 the parallelism is predominantly antithetic; from ch. 16 on, predominantly synthetic. These facts indicate editorial work. The arrangement of subject, however, is nearly haphazard. Occasionally groups of proverbs begin with the same letter of the alphabet, or gather about a subject, as Jehovah (16. 1-9), the king (16. 12-15).

One proverb is repeated exactly (14. 12 = 16. 25); eight are repeated with slight change (10. 1 = 15. 20; 10. 2 = 11. 4; 13. 14 = 14. 27; 14. 20 = 19. 4; 16. 2 = 21. 2; 19. 5 = 19. 9; 20. 10 = 20. 23; 21. 9 = 21. 19); ten others are repeated in one line, as 10. 15 = 18. 11; 15. 33 = 18. 12; 11. 13 = 20. 19. This seems to show that the proverbs had been in circulation and taken variant forms before coming into this collection. There is little that can fix the date of the collection. There are no historical references. It is common to regard this section as the earliest of the book, but even that would be difficult to prove. The life presented, the ethical tone, the likeness of style and words to Ecclesiasticus, indicate a period long after the close of the exile. The name of

Solomon is to be explained as merely the traditional ascription of wisdom to Solomon. It is doubtful if the editor who affixed this title supposed Solomon to be the author any more than did the originator of the title, the Wisdom of Solomon, given to a book of distinctly Greco-Jewish thought, now in the Apocrypha.

3. The Words of the Wise, 22. 17 to 24. 22, is an appendix to the former section, different in its style. It is mostly maxims rather than proverbs, usually in the second person. Instead of uniform length, the maxims are sometimes of four, six, or eight lines. A little poem on the drunken man occurs (23. 29-35), containing a humorous description of the man who says, "O my!" and "O dear!", who reels along as though on the top of a mast, and promises himself that when this debauch is over he will have another.

4. Chapter 24. 23-34 is another little appendix, containing another poem of humorous satire, holding the lazy man up to ridicule (compare 6. 6-11).

5. The second collection of the Proverbs of Solomon (chs. 25 to 29) is in tone and spirit like the first collection, but is not so uniform. The first part of this division, 25 to 27, contains many maxims, like division 3; the second, 28 and 29, has more proverbs, like division 2. Here also is a little poem, the Praise of Industry (27. 23-27). This division contains much simile and double comparison. See examples in ch. 25. Its maxims often run to six or eight lines. Many of them contain a mordant wit, as they satirize vices (26. 12, 13-16), or follies (26. 4, 5, 17, 21, 22), but a constructive basis for life is laid in frequent praise of righteousness. The whole tone of the collection is that of clear-headed, cool-minded, practical criticism of life, which because it is cool and clear, is not soured and pessimistic, but holds fast to the justice of God and the value of a good life. The truly keen critic of life is never a cynic. Cynicism is shallow and one-sided.

The heading of this division also is to be attributed

to the tradition of Solomon, the Wise. The contents present no discoverable reflection of the time of either Solomon or Hezekiah. It belongs with the rest of the Wisdom literature in the postexilic time.

6. The Words of Agur (30) present a puzzle in the title. The word translated "oracle" may be "of Massa." A Massa existed in Northern Arabia, and it is sometimes suggested that this chapter is extra-Jewish in origin. The passage may represent a corrupt text. Nothing is known of Agur or Jakeh. They may be names connected with traditional wisdom. Verses 1-6 are also puzzling. They seem to be the utterance of an agnostic, with a touch of sarcasm for those who pretend to know so much about God, ending with an exhortation to trust him after all. The numerical proverbs which follow are often fragmentary and broken. The form is strange in Hebrew literature, and the copyists have not always been careful to reproduce the full original proverb. In the Indian *Hitopadesa* proverbs of enumeration are frequent, but there is no reason to suppose any historical connection between the Hebrew and the Indian books.

7. The Words of King Lemuel (31. 1-9) present another puzzle. Hebrew history knows no King Lemuel, and here, as in section 6, "oracle" may be "Massa." The title may be ideal. The content is advice to rulers and judges, warning against such indulgence in appetite as will endanger the justice of their judgments.

8. The Praise of a Good Woman (31. 10-31) is an acrostic poem, each verse beginning with a successive letter of the Hebrew alphabet. Oriental literature contains many poems in praise of woman's beauty, but few which can compare with this as praise of her character. The picture of her daily life is Oriental, but the fundamental qualities which win love and reverence for her are neither Oriental nor Occidental, but finely and broadly human.

The history of the growth of the book of Proverbs can be traced in its structure. Its nucleus is evidently section 2.

Sections 3 and 4 are appendices, which must have been added before 5 was joined. Sections 6, 7 and 8 are appendices, which may have been added either before or after the compilation of the rest was completed. Section 1 was prefixed by an editor who regarded the book as presenting the call of Wisdom, which he personifies so beautifully. The little preface, 1. 1-6, was prefixed to the completed book (unless some of the last appendices were added later) by some one who saw its value for instruction in a well-balanced life, and who wished to commend it as a textbook for practical ethics. He perceived its real value. The book is unsurpassed for keenness, for wit, for insight, for the charm of concentrated expression, but its permanent value lies in the fact that it presents the wise life as the life grounded in the fear of God. "The beginning of wisdom is the fear of Jehovah."

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. What does the writer of the preface, 1. 1-6, regard as the object of the book?
2. Read 1. 7-19, 1. 20-33, chs. 2 and 3, 6. 6-11. What point does the writer make in each section? Are these sections in the literary form of proverbs?
3. Define wisdom, as described in ch. 8.
4. Read any two chapters of Division 2 (the Proverbs of Solomon), (1) making a list of the subjects treated, (2) noting the form and parallelism of the proverbs, (3) the attitude toward industry, (4) the reasons for moral conduct.
5. Read Division 3 (The Words of the Wise), and compare the literary form as to number of lines and kind of parallelism, with Division 2. What subjects were considered?
6. Read two chapters of Division 5, and compare the literary form and subject matter with Division 2.
7. Read Divisions 6, 7, and 8. What is peculiar to each? Is the picture of the ideal woman in Division 8 universal, or only Oriental?
8. Collect what you regard the best proverbs in the portions read. In what does their excellence consist?
9. Do you find any examples of humor in Proverbs?
10. Why should Proverbs be accorded a place in religious literature?

What is the real distinction between a religious and a secular treatment of life?

11. "Proverbs presents only utilitarian morals." Is this correct? If so, does that diminish its value for morals?
12. Describe the typical Wise Man of Proverbs and the Ideal for Life in Proverbs.

CHAPTER XXIV

JOB

THE book of Job is the most artistic literary production the Bible. It ranks among the great poems of the world; fact, many regard it as the greatest of the world's poems. The book is very systematic in arrangement. It is divided follows:

1. A prose prologue (chs. 1 and 2).
2. An introductory speech by Job (ch. 3).
3. Three cycles of speeches, each consisting of a speech by each Job's three friends and answering speeches by Job (chs. 4 to 31).
4. A set of speeches by a new character, Elihu (chs. 32 to 37).
5. Two speeches by Jehovah (chs. 38 to 41).
6. An answer by Job, and a prose epilogue (ch. 42).

The prologue sets before the reader, in rapid, artistic strokes, the background of the poem. Read it, noting its simplicity and directness; its dramatic quality, the story proceeding largely by conversation, with little descriptive detail and no pictures; the systematic arrangement, two cycles in heaven followed by two on earth; the climaxes, Satan's sneer passing deeper the second time, Job's calamities falling in increasing severity.

The prologue opens with the emphasis on two characteristics of Job; his piety and his prosperity (1. 1-5). They are the two elements which furnish the background for the rest of the poem. Then a new scene is introduced, a council in heaven. The writer is audacious, and does not hesitate to introduce the Almighty in colloquy with his courtiers. One of the members of his court is the Satan, whose business is to test pretended goodness. He sneers at Job's

piety. "Job thinks he is well paid for it. Take away his prosperity and then see what happens." "Test him," said God, and the scene closes (1. 6-12).

Notice the dignity of this scene. There is no attempt to describe God, to overwhelm the reader by the glories of his court, or to draw any contrast between God and Satan. Only the one point of Job's coming test is made.

The scene shifts to earth. Here again events move swiftly. One messenger after another appears with a tale of calamity, each worse than the last, till Job is stripped of wealth and children. This is the test; and from it Job's piety rises triumphant. He has stood the test.

Again the scene is changed. We are in the council of God, and once more Satan appears. His attention is called to Job's endurance of the test. His reply is that the probe has not struck deep enough; and he is given power to afflict Job with bodily ailment, sparing his life only.

Again for the last time the scene changes to earth. A form of leprosy has fastened upon Job. Driven out from among men, he sits on the refuse heap outside the town to wait for death. His wife now appears as a further element in the testing. This is the second test; and the result is that "in all this Job sinned not with his lips."

Three friends come to condole with him, but, astonished at his affliction, they are represented as sitting silent for seven days and nights. The most merciful thing they can do is to remain silent, and not say what they think about the cause of his afflictions.

The object of this prologue is to tell the reader, what Job does not know, the reason for his sufferings. Later the poet will make Job and his friends discuss this problem of suffering; and the reader may follow that discussion with the calm of a spectator, for he already has the key to this particular instance of suffering.

The Satan of this prologue is not the Satan of the New Testament. He is one of God's servants, his "prosecuting

attorney," who tests pretended piety; but he is represented as cynical, "the Spirit that denies," like the Mephistopheles of Goethe's *Faust*, the prologue of which is founded upon the prologue of Job.

A prelude to the dialogue is the outburst of Job (ch. 3). Read it, and note its thoughts: "Why was I born? Why did I not die at birth? Why must I live on in suffering?" This outburst grows out of the attitude of his friends. They sit in silence because they do not wish to say that his sufferings show him to be a great sinner. But Job reads their thoughts, and their very silence speaks their condemnation. The tone of Job's speech indicates impatience with God. It savors of heterodoxy, and must be answered.

The round of debate is opened by Eliphaz, represented as the oldest and most kindly of the three. Read the speech (chs. 4 and 5), noting the gentle, almost apologetic way in which it begins, and the friendly suggestion at the close. Each of these friends represents a type. Eliphaz is the prophet, who brings a message which has come to him through a dream (4. 12ff.).

This is a skillfully wrought speech. Under its velvet glove of friendliness is the iron hand of condemnation. Eliphaz confuses complaint of suffering with rebellion against God; he implies that Job is suffering because he has sinned; but the sin was not great, and the suffering may soon end in joy. Is Eliphaz lying for politeness' sake? Does he really think Job a great sinner?

The implied condemnation wakens in Job first resentment and then a sense of bitter loneliness. He has not complained without cause (6. 1-13). He had a right to expect more understanding sympathy from his friends (6. 14-30). Then his sufferings drive him to think of helpless suffering as the common lot of men (7. 1-10), and he turns to God and pleads piteously for release. Why does God torture helpless man? (7. 11-21.)

Bildad replies. He is shocked that Job should suggest

the possibility of God's injustice. His speech is short, less friendly than that of Eliphaz, and implies plainly that Job is being punished for his sins. Bildad is the traditionalist. To him all wisdom has come from the fathers. They have taught that God is always just, and that nothing happens without a cause (ch. 8).

It is not surprising that the answer of Job (chs. 9 and 10) begins with a sneer: "I know all these fine words as well as you." But God's justice implies his power. He can do what he pleases, and helpless man has no redress (ch. 9). "O God, show me why I suffer. Is it Godlike to create me simply for torment? (10. 1-19.) At least give me a little respite from suffering, and let me die in peace" (10. 20-22).

Zophar (ch. 11) is the dogmatist, hard and unsympathetic. To him Job's piteous complaints are only "a multitude of words." Would that God would show him his guilt! Then he would see that he was suffering less than he deserved. But even Zophar is not unfriendly. If Job will turn to God, he will even yet be forgiven.

Job answers (ch. 12) with bitter sarcasm. They have lied about God, in a desire to defend him. They have wished God would show him his sins. So does he; and ch. 13 closes with a piteous appeal to God. But God does not answer, and ch. 14 sinks to a sad complaint of the wretchedness of man, helpless and hopeless in the grip of relentless power.

Here the first cycle closes. The debate has been about God. The friends have asserted his justice. Job has denied that any justice is shown; there is only power. That line of discussion has been fruitless. Notice the climax in the increasing harshness of the friends and the bitterness of Job; the keen characterization of the friends, with the dogmatist the least sympathetic. This is true to nature. It is true to nature also that the deeper experiences of life shake men out of old orthodoxies, and that those who only sit

at ease and look on are shocked at the effort to find theologies which will suit new conditions.

The friends are obliged to conclude that Job is a great sinner. But they are still his friends, and will not abandon their efforts to convert him. It is evident that nothing they can say about God will do it. If they can compel him to realize the peril in which the wicked man stands, perhaps they can move him to penitence. In the second round of debate they hold up a mirror in which they expect Job to see himself. He seems not at first to realize how personal they mean to be, and does not try in his early speeches to answer their arguments.

As before, Eliphaz begins (ch. 15). His self love has been hurt. Job has dared to treat their wisdom with contempt. But what special wisdom has Job? Everyone knows that the wicked are punished. Their own bad conscience makes them cowards (15. 20-24), and disaster comes upon them, as it had come upon Job.

Job's answer (chs. 16, 17) begins with an appeal for sympathy. God and man have both forsaken him. His speeches from now on show moods, now of despair, now of a trust in God that refuses to lose confidence in ultimate divine justice. Chapters 16. 18 to 17. 9 express a mood of hope, 17. 10-16, of despair.

Bildad (ch. 18) is more harsh than in his first speech. Job has despised his friends; but let him know that the order of nature shows that the wicked live and die in misery. His speech closes with a picture which reflects Job's disasters, and he says, "Such are the dwellings of the unrighteous."

Job (ch. 19) replies with hot indignation, then he turns to his sad condition. It has come from God. There is no help. Would that his protestation of innocence could be made permanent! He will die unvindicated, and yet he cannot but believe that his truth will at last appear, even though over his grave. Job is not thinking of a life after

death in 19. 23-27. The tragedy of the whole problem is that it must be solved in this life or not at all. The text of this passage is obscure, and perhaps was retouched after a faith in future life arose among Israel. It is a poetic expression of an abiding confidence that God will, after all, deal justly with man, and confirm Job's claim of innocence.

Zophar affirms (ch. 20) that any prosperity the wicked may have is short. Job has talked as though he did not know what everybody can see—that the triumph of the wicked is short. He, like Bildad, tries to draw a picture of the wicked man, and it is the picture of Job. The speech is blunt and harsh, as we might expect from Zophar.

It is part of the skill of the author that he keeps Job's direct answer till he has drawn the fire of his friends. Now Zophar's harshness compels Job's answer. He flatly denies Zophar's contention (ch. 21). The wicked live and die in peace. No such disasters as the friends have pictured overtake them. They have no more suffering than the righteous. He ends his speech with the epithet "lies."

So the second cycle closes. The friends have tried to show that the wicked always suffer. Job has called them liars; that closes this phase of the argument. What can be done further? His friends still want to win him to a better mind. The side of God and of man have both been presented. No further abstract argument is left. Possibly if they charge him directly with sin, they may yet compel him to submit to the discipline of God.

As before, Eliphaz begins (ch. 22). He charges Job with the sins of oppression which are especially easy for the rich and powerful in the East. But, true to his friendly nature, he tries to find an excuse. Possibly Job forgot that God was watching over the world. But even yet there is hope, if Job will only confess and repent.

Job does not answer Eliphaz, but continues the statement to himself of the puzzle of the universe (chs. 23 and 24). His mood of confidence has now passed, and he sees no

hope. Would that he could find God, but he cannot. He has been righteous, and yet he must suffer; there are those who are wicked and who prosper. How can one talk of divine justice with the world all awry?

Bildad (ch. 25) is struck with the continued arrogance of Job. How can any man claim to be righteous before God? Bildad's speech is surprisingly short, and repeats, in slightly poorer form, what Eliphaz had said before (compare 25. 4-6 with 4. 17-19). Does it show that the stream of argument is running dry?

With ch. 25 we approach a tangled problem. It meets us fully in chs. 26 and 27, both assigned to Job. The problem is, to whom were these passages originally assigned? Chapters 26. 2-4 and 27. 2-6 are plainly Job's. They represent his style and ideas. It is more difficult to find a place in his thoughts for the magnificent description of the power of God in 26. 5-14. Is the thought, "You offer me nothing new; I too know the power of God"? It is assigned by some to Bildad, but did the literary artist who wrote this book put one of its most splendid passages in the mouth of Bildad, the man of traditional commonplaces? It has been suggested, with still less likelihood, that the speech is Zophar's. Every hypothesis presents difficulties.

Chapter 27. 7-23 presents still more difficulties. Its theme is the certain destruction of the wicked; but Job, in ch. 21 and elsewhere, has maintained exactly the opposite. It has certain passages almost identical with some in Zophar's second speech (ch. 20). Zophar does not appear in this cycle of debate. Can this passage be his third speech? It is like his thought; but if so, part of the speech before 27. 7 must have been lost, for every other speech of the friends has a personal introduction with biting condemnation of Job. In that case probably much of the preceding speech of Job has also been lost; but to assign this speech to Zophar takes away a suggestion of a dramatic element in the book, which would make the position of the friends so weak

that the third speaker has nothing to say. In any case, it does not seem possible that the writer could have intended 27. 7-23 for any part of Job's speech.

Chapter 28 is another difficult passage. It is a beautiful poem, exalting real wisdom as the quality of God only. Man can neither find it nor buy it; to man has been given, as human wisdom, the fear of God. Notice (1) the elaborateness of the poetry; (2) the reflective state of mind represented; (3) the lack of connection with its context. It is a beautiful poem, but it stands in no relation to this section of Job.

Chapters 29 to 31 are plainly Job's. Once more we are standing in the shadow of his problem of suffering. He looks back over the days that are past and gives a touching and sorrowful retrospect of them. In ch. 31 he turns to answer the charges which Eliphaz made against him in ch. 22. Formally and solemnly he repudiates the charges of oppression of the poor, invoking the curse of God if he is guilty.

The argument is ended. No one has receded from his position. The friends still maintain that Job has sinned. Job still asserts his innocence. They have appealed to God for judgment; so has he. He has swept the gamut of emotion from calm argument, through blank despair to a stormy arraignment of the divine justice, but his conviction of his own right has never for a moment wavered. The solution of the problem is left where it began. The debate has not solved it. May the author have intended to suggest that reasoning cannot solve it?

Now, unexpectedly, a fifth character enters. Elihu, a young man, conceited and wordy, with all the self-confidence of youth, is sure he has a solution for the problem which has puzzled his elders and betters. He has the redeeming quality of earnestness, and he takes himself very seriously, but his style is heavy and turgid, not equal to the rest of the poem. This young man has been listening, and

now wishes to speak, and occupies sixteen verses in saying so. In ch. 33 he turns to Job. Job has asked for a mediator between himself and God. Elihu will be the mediator. Job complains that God does not hear him. God is speaking to him through these afflictions, sent to redeem him from sin. If he will hear God, prosperity will follow. Elihu offers Job a chance to answer, but in vain. Does the author mean to imply that Job treats him with contempt?

In ch. 34 he turns to the friends. They have not been able to answer Job. He will tell them what they should have said. Job has asserted that God was unjust. They should have replied that this is inconceivable. God is just to both the righteous and the wicked, and metes out punishment as men deserve it. Job has shown himself both ignorant and impious. The friends hear him in silence. He has said nothing they had not already said better. Does the author mean to imply that they also treat him with contempt?

In chs. 35 to 37 he speaks of Job once more. Job has asserted that righteousness does not profit. That is false. He has asserted that his cry to God is not heard. If so, it is because of his selfish impiety and want of submission to God's will. Let Job listen to his defense of God, and profit from it (ch. 36). God afflicts the wicked for their own good. If Job will accept the lesson of this sorrow, he will yet praise God for it. Notice the allusions to a storm in ch. 37. At last Elihu's speech seems to break off incomplete. Does the author intend it to be cut off by the rising storm which breaks at the beginning of ch. 38?

These speeches of Elihu present one of the problems of the poem. Elihu is mentioned neither before nor after in the poem. The style is distinctly poorer than the other parts of the book, and the language more Aramaic. They add to the argument only the thought that trouble may be sent to keep from sin in the future, as well as to punish sin already committed (33. 14-22); but this is expressed very obscurely. One is compelled to ask if the author of Job,

who is elsewhere a literary artist, has here lost his cunning. Are the speeches of Elihu a part of the original poem? The problem arises not merely because the descent from the rest of the poem is so notable that it is almost humorous, and the verbose self-assertions of this youthful dogmatist, mistaking old platitudes for new wisdom, border on the burlesque; but still more because it is so difficult to conceive any adequate reason for the insertion of the speeches. It has been suggested that they are to summarize the positions of the friends; but a writer so skillful as this author is elsewhere would hardly do this so awkwardly. Nor, if he wished to add a new point, would he need to introduce a new speaker; nor can we believe that he deliberately intended to insert in this earnest debate on high matters a burlesque character.

The usual answer to the problem is that the speeches are the addition of a later writer. Some one who thought that he could put more clearly the arguments of the friends has inserted these speeches, but he has not thereby added to the value of the poem. This position, however, is not without its difficulties. Would any writer, it may be asked, who thought highly enough of the positions taken by Elihu to invent the character and write these speeches, have been content to bring his speeches to an inconclusive and somewhat scornful end, snuffed out by the rising storm in ch. 37? Is this turgid writer skillful enough to adapt the close of these speeches so well to the rising storm? Any position in the subject has its difficulties, but most agree that the fewest difficulties lie in regarding these speeches of Elihu as a later addition to the poem.

The speeches of Jehovah form the culmination of the book. It is sometimes suggested that the very form of the opening sentences is imitative of the peals of thunder, becoming gradually longer as the storm rolls away in the distance. If Elihu is in the original poem, the first words sweep him out of view; if not, ch. 38 follows after 31, as a

direct answer to Job's appeal for knowledge of God's plan of the world. The speeches divide into two parts, separated by a brief, submissive answer from Job. The first part deals with God's works in nature, and with the strange instincts of animals. Can Job understand these? The second consists largely of the description of the two somewhat idealized animals. Can Job control these? And the only answer Job can give to either question is, "No"; he cannot assume to possess the power of God.

The poet intends to express his highest conception of divine power in nature. He does not choose quite the things we would select at present. The two poems about the strange beasts are sometimes denied to the original author, but this seems hardly necessary.

What these speeches do not say is notable. Here is not one word about the problem over which Job has agonized; no explanation of his torturing sufferings, no word about Job at all. Instead God speaks of the stars and the rain and horses and ostriches and Behemoth and Leviathan. Yet at the end Job says, "I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth thee" (42. 5).

What was there in this speech which revealed God to Job? At first sight it seems merely designed to overwhelm Job with God's greatness and man's littleness. It seems to demand from Job the very thing he felt the friends demanded—slavish submission to arbitrary power. But, after all, there is a radical difference. The friends had said: "God is just. That means that all suffering comes from sin. Tradition teaches it, we assert it, and you must accept it." These speeches say, "Look about you and see the evidences of God's greatness and goodness in nature; and yet you cannot understand nature." There is no word here of Job's suffering, but the author is skillful enough to see that is not necessary. Job, agonizing over his great problem, will turn all things to its solution. The author leaves him to infer that if he cannot understand nature, still less can

he understand human life. The friends say, "You have sinned, and therefore you suffer." Jehovah implies rather than says: "Your suffering is a mystery; but all the world is a mystery, the good and the evil alike. Trust God with both." Is this a solution of the problem? By no means. It is only an answer of religious faith. It is as though the author had said, "There is no intellectual solution to the problem of suffering; but there is an attitude of mind which ceases to demand a solution, and is satisfied to argue from the wisdom of God in what we can see to the wisdom of God in what we cannot see." To realize this is "seeing God."

The final portion of the book is the prose epilogue, ch. 42. 7 to 17. It tells the restoration of Job's prosperity; condemns the friends, and justifies Job. The friends had said much that was true, but they had ignored the enigmas of life in the interests of traditional theology. This was more dishonorable to God than Job's frank attitude of puzzled faith in the presence of these enigmas. Honesty is better than orthodoxy, if both cannot be had together.

Is the poetic dignity of the book lowered by the fact that the justification lies in material prosperity? Why descend to this plane, as though the only way God could show his blessing was by wealth, family, and long life?

Think of the attitude of the writer regarding the future life. Any expression of God's approval of Job must come in this life. The epilogue is in the atmosphere of the prologue. Job has been tested, and has stood the test. It would have been unjust that he should not have had his reward. A modern writer need not have brought the reward in wealth and length of days, for he can consider eternity as the field of reward; this author could not.

The origin of the story of Job cannot be traced. The name, as used in Ezek 14. 14, shows a popular story of a man accounted righteous. There are elements of folklore in the repetition, the systematic development, and the simple directness of the prologue and epilogue. The long and

elaborate speeches, on the other hand, are not folk-tale, but literary development. The author has adapted this old story to his own purpose. It is as futile to ask how much he has changed as it would be to ask that question of Tennyson's *Idyls of the King*, were all our knowledge of the legend of King Arthur derived from these poems.

The date of the book is postexilic. With the exile the problem of suffering became acute, as Habakkuk and the servant passages of Second Isaiah show. But there is no reason to suppose that the older theology died out. In fact, the book of Proverbs is as simple in its statement of the connection of sin and suffering as any of the early prophets. Old theologies by no means disappear from popular thought because new theories are put forward by a few thinkers; and at any time after the beginning of the exile this subject might have commanded attention. General literary considerations suggest a date about 300.

The book offers various solutions of the problem of suffering. (1) The prologue: suffering is God's test of goodness. (2) The friends: suffering is a just judgment for sin. (3) Elihu: suffering is God's warning to keep men from future sin. (4) Jehovah's speeches: the whole universe is a mystery, the good as well as the evil; trust God with both. It is easy to see that the writer is specially interested in combatting the theory of the friends, and that his own opinion is expressed in the speeches of Jehovah.

The book may also be regarded as reaching beyond the mere problem of suffering, to all the mystery of life. There is no puzzle of living which is not met by the principle of trust here expressed. The present religious value of the book lies in its suggestion about two things: (1) Suffering. This problem grows not less perplexing, but more, as the world goes on. The wider the range of vision, the greater amount of suffering is seen; while philosophy presents no solution to its problem. It is not always caused by sin; nor always, as far as man can see, remediable. The Oriental

solution of Karma does not satisfy. Men are driven back to the religious answer of Job: All life is a mystery; trust God with it. (2) Trust. This book is the loftiest expression of trust in the Old Testament. It shows trust as an intellectual attainment, which comes by reasoning from the visible wisdom of God to his invisible wisdom. Trust is not opposed to reason. On the contrary, it must be based on reason, otherwise it is mere credulity. Trust is a reasonable inference from the known to the unknown, and the nature of it is the same whether in the character of a friend or in the wisdom and justice of Almighty God. The finest literary product of the Old Testament is also its finest expression of religious trust.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

I. The Prologue and the First Cycle of Speeches

1. Read the prologue. What is its object? How does it introduce the debate?
2. What were its literary characteristics? Are they those of the folk-tale?
3. What is the use of Satan in the story? Is he the Satan of the New Testament? Compare with the Satan of Zech 3. iff.
4. How does ch. 3 lead to the debate which follows?
5. Write the substance of the speech of each of the friends in the first cycle; chs. 4 and 5, 8, 11.
6. State the substance in Job's speeches in chs. 6, 7 and 12-14.
7. Summarize the first cycle: (a) the position of the friends; (b) of Job. What is the result of the argument in this cycle?

II. The Second and Third Cycles

8. Write the substance of chs. 15, 18, 20. What does each chapter attempt to prove?
9. What is the substance of Job's speeches in chs. 16, 17, 19, 21.
10. Make a careful study of 19. 23-27, to find its exact meaning. Compare 14. 7-12.
11. Which most nearly represents the facts of life; Zophar's position in ch. 20, or Job's in 21?
12. What is the state of progress of the argument at the end of the second cycle?
13. State the substance of chs. 22, 25, 26, 27. 1-6. Compare 25

with 4. 17ff. Why does the author repeat? How can 26 fit into the thought of Job?

14. Compare 27. 7-23 with ch. 20. Is it Zophar's?
15. Make an outline of 28. Compare the idea of wisdom in Prov 8.
16. How do chs. 30 and 31 answer the charges in ch. 22? How does it form an appropriate close of the debate?
17. Write a summary of each cycle of the debate. What is the final outcome as to the problem of Job's sufferings?

III. The Elihu and Jehovah Speeches, and the Epilogue

18. Read chs. 32, 33, 34, 37. What are the arguments of Elihu? Compare with the speeches of the friends as to conciseness and force.
19. Chs. 38 to 41. Write an outline of each of the two speeches of Jehovah, and make a summary of their argument. How do they apply to Job's problem?
20. What is the purpose of the epilogue? Is it an anticlimax?
21. Add to the summaries of Topic 17, those of the speeches of Elihu and Jehovah, and of the epilogue. What is the course of thought in the book? What does the writer intend to show?
22. What are the finest passages in the book, and why?
23. Does the book present a satisfactory solution of the problem of suffering? If not, what is its religious value?

CHAPTER XXV

ECCLESIASTES

THE English title of the book is borrowed from Greek. It is an attempt to translate the Hebrew title, Qoheleth (Koheleth) which is the word translated "Preacher" in the text of the book. The word is found here only in Hebrew literature, and may have been invented by the writer. It probably means a speaker in an assembly. "Debater" would perhaps be a better translation than "Preacher."

Tradition assigned this book to Solomon, but scholarship now universally denies this. (1) The book itself does not assert it. True, it opens with a section thrown into the form of the autobiography of a "king in Jerusalem," and there is little doubt that the writer had Solomon in mind; but there is quite as little doubt that the autobiography is imaginary. (2) The historical situation contains no reflections of the time of Solomon; the tone of the book is not that of a period when a nation was growing, but rather that of a period of decline and discouragement. (3) Above all, the Hebrew is very late. It is as difficult to suppose that this book was written in the time of Solomon as to suppose that the poems of Kipling were written in Shakespeare's time. Language and thought both demand a very late date in the Hebrew development. Most scholars put it at the beginning of the second century before Christ. It is used freely by the author of Ecclesiasticus, a book written 180-175 B. C. Possibly the slight historical references in 4. 13-16 and 10. 16, 17 may fix the limits of the book. They may refer to Ptolemy IV as the "old and foolish king" (d. 205 B. C.), to Ptolemy V as the "poor and wise youth," and to Antiochus III, whose reign the Jews welcomed in 198 B. C., as

the other youth. Certainly, the book was written somewhere at the end of the third or the beginning of the second century before Christ, perhaps between 198 and 180. As with all the Wisdom books, nothing is known of the author.

The book is mostly prose, interspersed, after the manner of much Oriental literature, with short sections in verse. The first and last parts consist of connected sections, the middle being less connected, sometimes even disintegrating into proverbs. It has often been claimed that Epicurean or Stoic expressions and thoughts are found in Ecclesiastes, but the likenesses are not great enough to indicate direct borrowing. The truth seems, rather, to be that the same stage of evolution produces kindred thoughts in different races, as disillusionment often causes our modern life to feel an affinity with the cheerful skepticism of Omar Khayyam.

Ecclesiastes is not obscure, but it requires a more careful reading for its comprehension than any other book of the Old Testament. The author's point of view is different from that of any other biblical writer, and at the same time it is difficult for a modern reader not to make him seem more skeptical and more pessimistic than he really is. Once started in his direction, we are liable to go farther than he does.

The first section, 1. 2-11, is an introduction. The problem of the book is stated in v. 3. Notice that it is not, *Is life worth living?* It is, *What constitutes the real value of life?* When it is through, has man any profit, any wages left over, as the result of his living? The introduction turns to nature for an analogy. Nature is one round; there is no surplusage, or profit, nothing left over. It is all empty, vanity.

Chapters 1. 12 to 2. 26 turn to human life. Has that any profit? The writer chooses the character which Hebrew tradition presents as the richest, wisest, most powerful in its history, King Solomon. Suppose one had all that tra-

dition ascribed to him, would there not be some profit from such a life? There are certainly lessons to be learned from it. Wisdom is better than folly; but when life is over, the wise man and the fool both die, and sink to a common lot. The thought brings hatred for the labor which life involves; but there is, after all, a further consideration, and in this the author voices the sane, healthful note of the book. The real value of life consists, not in something remaining over at its end, but in the enjoyment of the day as the day goes on. The simple goods of life, and the very labor itself, furnish an enjoyment which is the real profit of life (2. 24). Notice what the author has put forward, in this ideal autobiography, as being the goods of life. Is there any element of unselfishness, any suggestion of the ministry of service in it? Has it been getting or giving? Does it exhaust the possibilities of the values of life?

Chapter 3 comments on man's helplessness in the grasp of nature and of the circumstances of human life. In modern terms, both his philosophical questionings and his ethical instincts are unsatisfied. In neither of these can he find the profit of life. In 3. 19ff. we begin to see one of the problems, perhaps the great problem, which has led the writer to raise this question of profit in life. There were those in his time who said that the real profit, the actual wages of life, come not in this life but in another. This seems to the writer of Ecclesiastes a dangerous, even an immoral, doctrine. It leads men to let go a present certainty for a future possibility. What proof is there of a future life? He who does not take the good of the day as it passes will never have any good at all. There are no wages to put aside when the day is over. He who hopes for that lives in a fool's paradise, and fritters away realities for a dream. This is both unwise and irreligious. God has given men both the labors and the pleasures of the day; that men should enjoy them is the wages which he has set. Why should men turn from his good gifts to dream the dreams of fools?

Qoheleth continues his comments on life, refusing to indulge in radiant visions, but facing the disagreeable facts as they actually exist, and turning now and then, as in 9. 2-10, to his fundamental philosophy of life. Do not paint roseate pictures, he says. Life is hard and unjust and full of inequalities and incomprehensible; and moreover, you cannot look for any reward when you get through. It is empty, vanity. Its real value lies, not in wages outside of life, but in life itself, in the enjoyment of the passing hour, in the work of the day in its day. Live in life itself, not in dreaming and sentimentality. Chapters 11. 1 to 12. 8 present Qoheleth's conclusion. Since no one can tell what the future may hold, the only wise course is to take wide ventures, divide enterprises, use efforts in various directions, do the duties which fall to one heartily and well, and know that God stands behind all the contingencies of human life. For the young he has special counsels. Let them enjoy life to the full, making the most of their youth, but in such a way that they can lay it all before God for his approval. It is right to enjoy youth, because old age hastens on, and then death ends all, and the weakened body sinks to the dust, and the breath, the principle of life, goes back to God who gave it. Take the good of life as it goes. There is nothing left over. At the end it is all emptiness.

The close of the book, 12. 9-14, is undoubtedly editorial addition. The commendations of the book are hardly in the tone we should expect from its writer. Qoheleth, says the editor, was a wise man. He has carefully sought out the truth. Many books are made in our day; to study them all would be a weariness; but here is a little book which is worthy of study. The last two verses seem to be added in the interests of orthodoxy. The conclusion of this book, says the editor, is "Fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man." But does that sum up its teaching?

The reason for both these editorial notes is not far to seek.

The book was regarded by many of the rabbis as being heretical. At the Council of Jamnia its place in the canon was discussed. The great reason for admitting it was doubtless the belief in its Solomonic authorship; but, as with the Song of Songs, its secular character was against it. These closing notes seem to have been written to commend it as a religious book. The idea arose that it was written by Solomon in his old age, to show the vanity of all worldly pursuits and the satisfaction of fearing God and keeping his commandments.

Are there other additions to the original book, besides the verses at the end? On this subject modern scholarship holds a wide variety of opinions. Some regard the book as a unity, excepting the closing verses. Some regard it as a composite work, whose original form is so overlaid with later additions that it presents a literary patchwork. Others hold that the body of the book can easily be discerned, but that it has had additions from editors, some working in the interest of orthodoxy, others of a love for Wisdom literature. One, two, or three such editors are sometimes distinguished. It may not be possible to reach dogmatic conclusions. How far the variations of the book represent varying moods of the original writer is not easy to determine. The most decisive question is, Are there notes in the book which express an attitude directly contrary to its fundamental conceptions? If so, that would be presumptive evidence of editorial additions. A moderate list of passages claimed as such additions is the following: 2. 26; 4. 5; 5. 3; 7. 3, 5, 6-9 11, 12, 19; 8. 1; 9. 17; 10. 1-3, 8-14a, 15, 18, 19. An examination of these would show certain discrepancies of thought from the rest of the book. They are at least so uncertain that they should not be used in gathering up the writer's main thoughts.

Qoheleth's philosophy of life is sane and wholesome. Many people would still find life more valuable if they could learn his lesson of finding enjoyment in each day as it passes,

rather than looking to some future time for it. The future time which they anticipate may never come. A few generations later no Hebrew writer would have taken his skeptical view of life after death; but there have been ages in Christian history when the worth of the future life has overshadowed too much the worth of the present life. Qoheleth is not irreligious, not gloomy, not skeptical, not pessimistic, if by pessimism one means a point of view which sees no value in life. On the contrary, it may be called gloriously optimistic. Qoheleth sees all the inequalities of life, all its mysteries and its disillusion, the hollowness of the things which men seek most eagerly, the uselessness of any hope of life after death, and yet loses neither his confidence in God nor his sense of the real value of life. Modern life can add to it the hope of future life, the value of social service and the warmth of trust in a loving Father, as well as in the Eternal Wisdom; but Qoheleth's fundamental conception of the value of life as lying in the worth of the simple things of daily living still stands.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Read chapters 1 and 2. Describe the life represented. What is the purpose of the author in this section?
2. What is the estimate of the value of life, in 3. 9-13; 5. 18, 19; 8. 15 to 9. 1; 9. 7?
3. The ideas of future life in 3. 16-22; 9. 2-6; 9. 10; 12. 7?
4. What is Qoheleth's advice in religious matters, 5. 1-7?
5. Read chs. 3 to 6. What is the substance of thought?
6. Read chs. 7 to 10. What are the chief ideas?
7. Express in your own words the ideas of ch. 11. 1 to 12. 8.
8. What is the editor's commendation of the book in 12. 9-12?
9. How would you sum up the book from your own reading? Compare your summary with 12. 13, 14.
10. Are the passages noted above (p. 198) so out of harmony that they are best explained as interpolations?
11. What is Qoheleth's philosophy of life? Is it satisfactory? Is it morally wholesome?

CHAPTER XXVI

THE SONG OF SOLOMON AND LAMENTATIONS

THE Song of Solomon (Song of Songs, or Canticles) should be read, whenever possible, in the Revised Version. No book in the Old Testament suffers so much in the King James Version as this.

The reader who approaches the poem without prejudice finds it of great interest; and the more familiar he is with Oriental poetry the more interesting he finds it. There are plenty of passages in it which are obscure, but there is a lilt to the verse, a tone of joyousness, a frankness of expression which is refreshing amid the repression of our sophisticated Western literature. There is also a fine feeling for nature which is hardly equaled elsewhere in Hebrew poetry. The subject is plainly love. There is nothing specifically religious in the book. That is, it does not discuss the relation of God to life, and we are accustomed to limit religious literature to that which does.

This raises the question of how a book seemingly so secular came to be in the Bible, which is in the main a collection of religious literature. The question is old. At the Council of Jamnia, A. D. 90, the Jewish rabbis discussed whether this book, among others, had a right to a place among the sacred books. Two things finally won it a place in the canon. One was the tradition, already embodied in the heading, that it was the work of King Solomon. This, however, did not meet the objection of the obviously secular subject of the book. The religious interpretation of the book was secured by treating it as allegory. The Greek scholiasts were already so treating the poems of Homer, and finding

philosophical truths in discreditable stories. Philo, the Jewish philosopher of Alexandria, had allegorized the stories of Genesis. It was natural that the rabbis should make this book an allegory of the love of God and the Jewish people. When the Christians began to use the Jewish Scriptures, they turned the book into an allegory of the love of Christ and the church, as may be seen by the chapter headings of the King James Version. There is no harm in such allegorizing. Any group of pure love songs might be thus used. But it is certain that the writer of these poems had no thought of any such secondary meanings. He was simply writing love songs.

The literary form of these poems has been much discussed. Until the present generation an interpretation long held was that they represent a dramatic story. The earlier interpretation made it a dramatic dialogue between Solomon and his bride, but later a more romantic story was read into it. According to this interpretation, Solomon, on one of his royal progresses, saw a shepherd maiden, whom he wished to introduce into his harem. She, however, was in love with a shepherd, and all the terms of praise which Solomon applied to her, she transferred to this lover. The drama is one of thought rather than of action; and much of it is soliloquy. At last, to his honor be it said, Solomon dismissed the girl to her lover, and the last scene is the wedding of the shepherd and his bride in the country. More or less violence has to be done to the text to reconstruct this drama out of it. It contains numerous improbabilities. The real drama is not known elsewhere in Hebrew literature. Even if the book is a drama, it is difficult to conceive of an Oriental writer thinking that a king would give up a proposed inmate of his household simply because she loves another. The longer this interpretation was considered, the more difficulties it met, until it has been practically abandoned. The next theory of interpretation was based on the Syrian wedding customs. The wedding week was filled with festivities,

in which the village groom and bride were king and queen, and the threshing floor was the place of a cycle of dances and songs in their praise. The theory is that this book is a collection of such a cycle of songs. If so, they are somewhat disarranged, and some of them are broken up and found in scattered fragments. Whether they belong to a definite cycle or not, it is very possible that they are a group of wedding songs. Every one who has been at an Eastern wedding knows that such songs are sung by the professional singers, when bride and groom are idealized, and the singers take the liberty of ascribing to them sentiments that would hardly fit into the actualities of Oriental life. While it may be no longer possible for us to say under what circumstances these songs were written, it may well be supposed that they are a group of songs which were sung by professional singers, and which thus became preserved. He who wrote them was a true poet. We may be glad that they have been preserved in the Bible. Love makes much of the joy of life, and of its sorrow as well. It enters largely into our literature and it is fitting that there should be one book in the Bible devoted to its frank praise. Of course the form of the songs is Oriental and ancient. That means that they are more sensuous and less spiritual than they would be if written to-day in the West; but the substance is broadly human, belonging to all races and times.

The number of the songs has been variously estimated. It is difficult to tell how many there were originally. Nor is it possible to assign an exact date for their composition. The Hebrew shows evidences of late composition in its vocabulary and its grammar. References to Solomon and to Tirzah, the ancient capital of North Israel, are therefore obviously the result of tradition. Whether these songs may rest on others still older, one cannot say. They are certainly interesting as giving suggestions of the existence of a literature of Hebrew secular poetry which has not been preserved.

LAMENTATIONS

Among the five Megilloth (Rolls) of the Hebrew Bible is a collection of five dirges over the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B. C. By the time of the LXX translation the tradition had arisen that Jeremiah was their author, and the Greek translators embodied that tradition in their title, "the Lamentations of Jeremiah," and placed the book after the prophecy of Jeremiah. This is the position it still has in our Bibles, and the tradition of its authorship has helped to fasten upon Jeremiah the unjust name of the weeping prophet. The artificial form of the poetry is very different from Jeremiah's spontaneous style, and some of the expressions could hardly have come from him: 4. 17 does not represent his expectation of Egypt, nor 4. 20 his opinion of Zedekiah. It is not certain that the poems are all from the same author, for the order of the alphabetic arrangement in the first differs from that in the others.

There are two great literary peculiarities of this book: (1) The meter; long lines with a cæsural pause in the middle, a kind of verse usually called *qina* (Hebrew, *elegiac*), but which is used for other verse besides elegy. (2) The alphabetic arrangement. Chapters 1 and 2 are composed of verses of three lines each, the first lines of the successive verses beginning with successive letters of the Hebrew alphabet. The following arrangement will illustrate the alphabetic form, using English letters in the place of Hebrew.

Verse 1. **A** city that sitteth in solitude, she that was full of people,
 She has become as a widow, she that was great among
 nations;
 She has become tributary, she that was princess in
 provinces.

Verse 2. **B**ut she weepeth sore in the night, and her tears are on
 her cheeks,

.

Verse 3. Captivity has come unto Judah, affliction and servitude heavy,

.

Chapter 3 is also composed of groups of three lines, but here each line of the group begins with the same letter. Our Bible tries to indicate a difference from chs. 1 and 2 by numbering each line in ch. 3 as a separate verse, making 66 instead of 22 verses.

Verse 1. **A** man that hath seen affliction by the rod of his wrath
 am I;

And he led me to walk in the darkness, and not in the
 light of day,

Against me he turneth his hand again and again all the
 day.

Verse 2. **B**roken my bones hath he, my flesh and my skin is made
 old;

Builted against me hath he, and surrounded me with
 affliction,

Brought me to dwell in the darkness, as though I had
 long been dead.

Verse 3. **C**aptive, he fences me in, and loads me with fetters of
 iron;

Call I for help, it is vain, he closeth his ears to my cry,

Crooked he made all my paths, and shut in my ways
 with his walls.

Chapter 4 is like 1 and 2, except that it has two lines in a verse. Chapter 5 is not alphabetically arranged, but it has twenty-two verses, the same number as the letters in the Hebrew alphabet. It is also not in qina meter. The later Hebrew writers used acrostic poetry more than modern writers. We have examples in Prov 31. 10-31, Psa 118, and other places. The most striking thing regarding its use in Lamentations is that so mechanical a form of verse should be chosen to express a profound emotion. It is interesting that the most elaborate elegy in English, Tenny-

son's "In Memoriam," is also expressed in very formal verse.

The intensity of the emotion shown in most of these poems seems to mark a time not far from the fall of Jerusalem. Chapter 3 may be an exception, and may come from a later date. All represent the prophetic element of the nation. The authors think of the fall of Jerusalem as the result of the sin of the people, and the greatest source of grief is not, after all, the destruction of the nation, but the feeling that their God has turned away from them in anger. Nowhere in literature is there a more stately and dignified expression of profound national sorrow in national disaster than in this group of elegies.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

SONG OF SOLOMON

1. Read chs. 1 and 2. What are the qualities of the poetry?
2. What allusions to nature? For what purpose are they used?

LAMENTATIONS

1. Read some of each poem, to see length of lines, parallelism, subject matter.
2. Read with care any two of the first four poems, noting the ideas emphasized, the historical references, the explanation, if any, of the national disasters, the hope of the future, the religious conceptions.
3. Compare the religious conceptions of these poems with those of the prophets, especially Jeremiah and Ezekiel.
4. What are the literary qualities of these poems?

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

CHAPTER XXVII

APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

THE word "apocalypse" means "revealed." The name was not used by the writers of the apocalyptic literature, but is the invention of a later age.

Apocalypse grew out of prophecy. In a sense, prophecy ceased before the Maccabean period. There came a time when no one ventured to give a message to the people and preface it with "Thus saith Jehovah." In making God great, Hebrew thought had put him so far from man that they could no longer think of him as moving upon human minds in the actual present; and so the very success of prophecy had caused its downfall. There is a story in Maccabees, almost pathetic in its sense of the aloofness of Israel from God. After the cleansing of the temple, the question arose of what should be done with the stones of the old altar, formerly consecrated to Jehovah but latterly defiled with heathen offerings. It was decided to lay them aside in the temple court until some prophet should arise to tell them what to do! But, though formal prophecy ceased, the religious feeling which had caused prophecy did not cease. Men still believed that they had a message for the people. They still urged the nation to faith and duty, still interpreted God's will for his people, still inspired them to courage and hope. These things belonged to the content of prophecy, and passed over into apocalypse. The man who formerly would have been a prophet became an apocalypticist.

Apocalypse differs from prophecy in various ways: (1) Purpose. Prophecy urged reform in an imperfect nation; apocalypse encouraged a discouraged nation. (2) View

of the present. Prophecy was hopeful of present reform; apocalypse was pessimistic as to the present; the only thing to do was to patiently wait. (3) View of the future. Prophecy expected God's purposes to work out in the ordinary processes of history; apocalypse saw hope only in supernatural interferences. (4) View of other nations. In prophecy the nations will be brought to the homage of Jehovah; in apocalypse they will be swept out of existence. (5) Emphasis. In prophecy morals are emphasized; in apocalypse the national life is emphasized. (6) Literary style. Prophecy is straightforward; apocalypse is mystical and symbolic. Many of these differences grow out of the historical circumstances in which apocalypse took form.

Apocalypse was written from about 200 B. C. to perhaps 200 A. D., by Jews and Christians. The variety of historical circumstances was great, but it was always written at some time of discouragement, of danger or actual persecution, when enemies were strong and active and when there was special need of courage and faith. Apocalypse is a trumpet call to be faithful in the midst of seemingly hopeless conditions. This historic condition accounts for (1) the stress of emotion in the literature; (2) the bitter hatred of other nations; (3) the hopelessness of the present, and the expectation of supernatural help in the future; (4) the symbolic style. It was not safe to say plainly that the nation which governed them would be overthrown and destroyed. The message must be obscured in symbol and vision, which would say nothing openly, but convey its hidden meaning to the initiated. Nowhere in the Bible, unless it be in prophecy and in the letters of the New Testament, is it so necessary to understand the historical background in order to appreciate the literature, as it is in this strange, intense, symbolic apocalyptic writing.

The main scheme of apocalyptic ideas is found in three thoughts: (1) Present suffering, under the enemies of the religion. (2) Future conflict. God will combat these

enemies and overthrow them in some supernatural disaster which will crush all the forces of wrong. (3) Final triumph. God and the right will be victorious, and his servants will be happy in his kingdom. Every apocalypse contains at least one of these elements, and many contain them all. Within the range of these ideas will always be found the interpretation of the literature.

The literary form is frequently that of vision. Present and past history is thrown into visions, which are often assigned to some ancient character; Enoch or Ezra or Daniel. Pictures of the future are not intended as definite predictions, but as vivid expressions of the apocalyptic ideas.

As time went on, a body of apocalyptic language and figures grew up. These figures, coming from various sources, are not always harmonious, and in the latest books, like Revelation, are often thrown together in a way which adds literary confusion to the other difficulties of the reader. The growth of such a special vocabulary was natural. The study of any collection of Christian hymns will show the same use of traditional imagery.

Like most kinds of literature, apocalyptic had a natural growth. Apocalyptic forms and ideas began to appear in prophecy long before they took shape in a separate literature. The following are some of the prophetic passages which form steps of transition to apocalypse:

Ezek 38 and 39. Israel is now in exile, weak and despised. The nation will be returned to Palestine, where God will protect them from all enemies by supernatural aid, and will bring them final triumph. This passage is of interest because its phrases and figures were largely borrowed by later apocalyptic writers.

Hag 2. 6-9, 21 and 22. Israel is still weak and discouraged. Other nations are stronger, but God will change that by supernatural power. He will bring the glory of the nations to Jerusalem, and Israel will be a great empire.

Joel 2. 28 to 3. 21. God will yet reveal himself in messages to his people and in signs in the heavens. He will challenge the

nations to battle, overthrow them by his power, and bless Israel with a permanent prosperity. This passage furnishes many figures which became familiar in later apocalypses.

Other passages which contain apocalyptic ideas are Ezek 40-48, Zech 1-6, and 14, Isa 24 to 27. All these belong to the exile or later, and are the product of historical conditions from which grew true apocalypses.

CHAPTER XXVIII

DANIEL

THE best of the Jewish apocalypses, and one of the earliest, is the book of Daniel. It came from the darkest period of Jewish history. From 168 to 164 the little state of Judah was controlled by Syria, one of the empires which had resulted from the division of the Greek empire after the death of Alexander. The Syrian king during these years was Antiochus IV, called Antiochus Epiphanes; a man keen, clever, unscrupulous, but half crazed with power—an Eastern Nero. He tried unsuccessfully to conquer Egypt, and his disappointment added bitterness to his feeling toward any who refused his demands. His empire was made of the remnants of many ancient Oriental races, and he wished to unify it. He tried to do this by unifying the religion, putting down all the old native faiths, of which his empire held many, and substituting the Greek religion. Some of the Jews in Judah refused to submit. He sent an army to Jerusalem who massacred many of the people on the Sabbath, when the law did not allow them to defend themselves. If copies of the law were found, they were defiled or destroyed. Swine were sacrificed on the great altar of the temple, and the public worship of Jehovah ceased. A detachment of the army was sent about to the towns, and the people were compelled to sacrifice to the Greek gods upon the altars which were set up. The worship of Jehovah seemed doomed to extinction in blood. Then began the Maccabean war. An old priest, Mattathias, refused to sacrifice when an altar was set up in his town of Modin, struck down a Jew who proposed to offer the

required sacrifice and the Syrian captain who ordered it, and fled with his five sons to the wilderness of Judah. Here he died during the next year, but his oldest son, Judas, who came to be called the Hammer (Maccab), took the leadership of the little band. He proved to be a military genius, and the war continued, with noble heroism and devotion, until at last the Jews won their national freedom. The books of Maccabees tell the story of splendid patriotism.

From the period which produced the beginning of the Maccabean war came the book of Daniel. The object of the book is to encourage the people to hold fast their religion in the midst of the persecutions to which they were subject. When read in the light of its origin it is one of the most inspiring of the Old Testament books. Considered apart from its origin, it is a hopeless tangle of obscure symbolism and historical incongruities.

Daniel is divided into two sections: stories about Daniel and his friends, 1 to 6, and visions of Daniel, 7 to 12. Each of the sections has the same general purpose of encouragement, but reaches its end by different means. Chapter 2, however, contains an apocalyptic vision embedded in the story.

Each of the six stories presents one of two elements of encouragement; either, Stand fast by God and he will stand fast by you, or, God is more powerful than the great kings of the earth. Notice in reading them which of the stories present each of these ideas. The details of the stories fit into the Maccabean times. In the tales Daniel and his friends are tempted to eat unlawful food, to sacrifice to the heathen gods, to cease their open worship of Jehovah—all things which the books of Maccabees show to have been actual temptations of that period. The picture of the kings in these stories is that of Antiochus, not that of the historic kings whose names appear in the stories. Darius, the devout worshiper of the god Ahura Mazda, would have been as averse as Daniel to the idea of worshipping a man, but

such arrogant impiety well fits the conception which the Jews had of Antiochus. The impressive vividness with which the stories are told, the threat of death for faithfulness to the national religion, the heroic devotion of Daniel and his friends, reflect Maccabean conditions. It is little wonder that this impressive book, although written after most of the Hebrew canon was formed, found its way into the list of sacred books.

The origin of the stories presents a problem at present impossible to solve. In a passage dating from before the fall of Jerusalem in 586, Ezekiel mentions Daniel along with Noah and Job (14. 14). Evidently, the name stood before the exile for a traditional wise man, and a cycle of stories gathered about it. The story of the three friends and the fiery furnace must have come from some other cycle, otherwise it is difficult to explain why Daniel does not appear in it. The stories are not historically accurate. (1) Chaldean is used, not for Babylonian, but in the later sense of magician. (2) Cyrus, not Darius, took Babylon (5. 31), and Darius followed Cyrus, rather than preceded him. During the reign of Darius there was a revolt, and the city was retaken by Darius, which probably accounts for the author's confusion of events. (3) Belshazzar was not a king of Babylon, but he was the son of the last king, Nabonidus. All of these inaccuracies, however, are of no real importance. It would be most absurd to demand that this writer, living in Jerusalem four hundred years after the exile and writing under the stress of the persecutions of Antiochus, should deal with ancient history in the spirit of a modern scholar. It would be very surprising if he were wholly accurate. The book is not less valuable because it is not perfect history. We read it, not for the history of the exile, but for the magnificent heroism of the stories.

The visions of Daniel are characteristic apocalyptic visions. They are symbolic expressions of the general apocalyptic ideas of present suffering, future conflict, final

victory. As is usually the case with symbolic art, they may easily be so treated as to appear grotesque. If put in the form of pictures they present a strange congeries of figures, whose origin is perhaps to be found in the composite shapes of Babylonian mythology. Each vision finds its explanation in the history of the Maccabean time, as is seen from the fact that the most space in the vision is devoted to this period.

The first vision lies in one of the stories, 2. 31-45. It surveys the rulers of the Hebrew nation, beginning with the Babylonian empire. The other three empires must be, judging from other parts of the book, the Median (which this writer supposes to precede the Persian), the Persian, and the Greek, in which he includes the Syrian, as having a Greek origin. In the days of the last kingdom will come, without human aid, the kingdom of God. This is the simplest of the visions. Its purpose is clear—to encourage the Jews by the thought that the kingdom which is persecuting them is weak; they need not fear it, however strong it seems, for in due time God will overthrow it.

Chapter 7 goes over the same ground as ch. 2, but differs in emphasizing more the suffering of the people and the overthrow of the enemy. The vision is explained at the end, so that no reader need mistake its meaning. Notice that while the kingdoms are named, the meaning of the "little horn," plainly Antiochus, is left to be inferred. Notice the Oriental conception of the conquest of Alexander as a ruthless destruction of older civilizations, the satisfaction with which the author dwells on the divine overthrow of Antiochus, and the hope for a glorious kingdom of Israel afterward. In v. 25 we have the first suggestion of the space of time before this will take place. From the date when active persecution begins till the end will be a time, two times (the word is probably dual), and a half a time; that is, three and a half years.

Chapter 8 goes over the same ground again. It begins,

not with Babylon, like the others, but with the Medo-Persian empire, as the author explains at the end of the chapter. Notice here also the conception of Greece as a destructive power. Here, again, the "little horn" appears, and again it is upon Antiochus, which it represents, that the writer's interest centers; but only to exult in the hope of his overthrow by the power of God. There is plain reference to the desecration of the temple which stopped the morning and evening sacrifices, and again the time of the end is given as about three years and a half from that desecration.

Chapter 9 gives the explanation of this period of time. The author finds in the book of Jeremiah the promise of prosperity for Israel after seventy years, but seventy years have long passed, and prosperity has not come yet. In this writer's day prophecy had already become confounded with prediction, and he reasons that this prediction must be fulfilled, therefore it cannot mean seventy years; it may mean seventy weeks of years. Calculating this from the date of Jeremiah's prophecy just before the fall of Jerusalem in 586, he reaches for the close of the period, a date of 164 B. C. He divides the period into sections, one of which (v. 26) seems to close with the murder of the "anointed" high-priest Onias III in 171 B. C. But the actual time is not four hundred and ninety years. There seems to have been a traditional error in reckoning time from one era to another, which this writer shares with Josephus and other Jewish writers.

In this calculation one can see the basis of the author's feeling that he has a message for his people. He finds himself almost at the end of the age. The last struggle is already under way. Only a few more years, and the final triumph will come. If Israel will only hold firm a little longer, God will bring the period to a close with a triumphant conquest.

Chapters 10, 11, and 12 form a single section. Beginning

with vision, it passes into a long description of history, told for the most part without figure, largely devoted to the wars between the kingdoms of Syria (the north) and Egypt (the south). Vv. 21-45 deal with Antiochus. Note that, while other names are mentioned in the book, that of Antiochus is always hidden in symbol. Note, at the end, the ideal picture of the death of Antiochus, in the land of Palestine, where he had done so much evil. Of course, since this is symbolism and not prediction, that Antiochus did not die there does not affect the value of the book. Chapter 12 is the picture of the triumphant kingdom of God at the end of the age, with the author's closing words. Here for the first time in the Old Testament, we find a clearly expressed hope of the future life. The writer has urged his readers to stand firm for their religion; but in many cases that meant death. Will God give no reward to those who have suffered and died for him? No reward can come in this life. God must bring them back to earth for that; and he will also bring back those who have not received the rewards of their evil deeds; not all men, but only those to whom this life has not brought justice. The problem of God's justice, which was argued in Job and often touched upon elsewhere, has in Daniel its final Hebrew answer in the hope of a future life. One need not say how far this is from the Greek idea of a natural immortality of the soul. The Hebrew conception was not philosophical, but ethical. Its purpose was to form a basis for a belief in God's justice to men.

Many other elements of Hebrew thought of the later period appear in Daniel: the doctrine of angels, both as guardian spirits and as messengers of God; the conception of God as so far away that he does not speak directly to man; the hope of a Messianic time. The book is valuable for the history of Hebrew thought, but its religious value lies in its plea for courage and faith in God. Right will finally triumph and wrong be overthrown. The man who

believes this will "stand in his lot till the end of his days," patiently doing his duty at any cost to himself. That is the heroism of faith which this book presents. Daniel is a trumpet call to courage in the moral battle of life. It sounds a note to which the higher spirits of humanity have always responded, and which appeals as strongly in the life of the present day as it did in the Maccabean period.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Read 1 Mac 1 and 2; 2 Mac 5-7, noting the persecutions and the heroic spirit.
2. Read the stories of Dan 1 to 6, to find the author's teaching in each.
3. How do the stories of Daniel compare with the Maccabean stories noted in 1 above?
4. What are the meanings of the several symbols in the visions of 2. 31-45, 7 and 8? State in plain terms the meaning of each vision as a whole.
5. What is the character of Antiochus as presented in 7. 8, 20-26; 8. 9-12; 11. 21-45? What is the feeling of the writer toward him?
6. What is the author's expectation of the future in ch. 12? His theory of the resurrection?
7. What is your estimate of the stories of Daniel from a literary point of view?

PART II
THE NEW TESTAMENT

INTRODUCTION

NEW TESTAMENT TIMES

THE Jewish people of the time of Jesus Christ lived in many other places than Palestine. They were to be found in large numbers in Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, Northern Syria and Asia Minor, Italy, and other places. This world-wide dispersion began as far back as the days of Nebuchadrezzar the Chaldean and probably before that time. Palestine was too small a country and too poor a land economically to support the vigorous race. In other countries Jews could find a better living, more stable politics, and a wider field for their abilities. While the outside Jews held the homeland in sentimental esteem, they realized the impossibility of making it their home. They were a cosmopolitan, versatile people but loyal in essentials to the ideals of their race and religion. They varied, of course, as to station and character, as do all racial groups, but many of them were conspicuously superior religiously and ethically to the people among whom they lived. Doubtless the stricter Jews of Palestine, especially in Jerusalem, felt superior to their more broadly educated brethren in foreign lands.

Even in Palestine there was a distinction to be made between Jews who were more inclined to be hospitable to the Greek culture and fashions and those who were strict in their loyalty to the older Judaism. This division of sympathy and finally of party was more and more apparent after the conquests of Alexander the Great and throughout the administration of his successors. Beginning as a cultural struggle, it soon took on a political aspect, reached its crisis in the Maccabean Age, grew weaker at first under

Roman influence, but was revived again, about the time of Jesus. This patriotic movement was crushed by the Romans in the days of Titus (70 A. D.) and utterly killed at the time of Hadrian (122 A. D.). It will be noticed that the struggle had quite changed its nature in the course of this long history. The struggle which was at first between the old Jewish and the new Grecian civilization became in the Maccabean Age through the folly of Antiochus IV and by Jewish patriotism almost wholly political in character. But there was a party in Palestine which kept up the quieter struggle on a purely cultural or religious plane. These were at last overwhelmed by the fanatical politicians of their own people.

That stricter party of Jews who resisted the invasions of the foreign, Hellenistic ideas were early known as the Hasidim (Chasidim), that is, the pious, or the puritans. They, in turn, probably grew out of the earnest students and copyists (scribes) of the old Scriptures. These Hasidim and their followers who cared most for the old writings and ways, who were the devotees of the law, were naturally the ones to resist innovations. These same pious ones had received the brunt of the persecutions by Antiochus IV and were the supporters of the Maccabean uprising. But they wavered and fell away from the Maccabeans just in the degree in which the ambitions of that family became worldly and political. It was probably this religious party of the Hasidim that was the forerunner of the party known in later times as the Pharisees.

Out of the party of the Maccabeans, or, as they came to be called, the Asmoneans (Hasmoneans), developed the distinctly political party of the priestly and royalist Zadokites who are known to us as Sadducees. They were the dominant influence through most of the Asmonean period. But the more religious party of the Pharisees were the natural teachers of the common people and came into greater and greater influence among them. The opposition of these two groups of Jews in Palestine became acute in

their early dealings with each other and later settled into a chronic aversion.

In actual religious thought these two parties had the common ground of the older Judaism, but very naturally the party that specialized in religious things progressed in religious ideas in spite of a careful conservatism. The Sadducees had other objects than the pursuit of religion. Politics was their main interest and their attitude toward religion must necessarily have become more and more negative because they did not keep up with its progress. The Pharisees, on the other hand, threw themselves heartily into the cultivation of religion, and in spite of their conservatism were cognizant of the constantly emerging new demands of the religious consciousness. The fuller doctrine of the future life which had been forming in the Palestinian thought in response to suffering, physical and mental, is a case in point. In ages of severe trial when the apocalyptic writings were useful to sustain the courage of the devout Jews there had come the question about the fate of those Jews who were killed. The belief grew that they would be raised to life and share in the Messiah's triumph. The religious indifference of the Sadducees kept them aloof from the movement of thought that developed this teaching of a resurrection, while the Pharisees received and held the doctrine.

The time came during the Roman period when even the political power favored the party of the Pharisees. They had already secured the allegiance of the majority of the common folk. Thus the Sadducees, who had once been in the strong majority in the national Jewish Council of Palestine, who had been in favor with rulers, masses, and temple officials, dwindled at last to an aristocratic opposition party.

One of the most influential institutions which were used by the Pharisees for religious instruction was the synagogue. Many synagogues were scattered through the country.

There were several hundred of them in Jerusalem in New Testament times. With the Sadducees in control of the temple and the Pharisees controlling the synagogues, the result must eventually favor the Pharisees.

Judas the Maccabean was the most heroic figure in the Jewish war against the Syrians. He had aroused his nation and had nearly won independence for it when he died in battle in 161 B. C. Members of his family continued to rule in Jerusalem for one hundred years after that date until the time of Pompey the Roman, when the Idumean (Edomite) family of the Herods succeeded to authority in Palestine.

Thus it will be seen that many references in the New Testament to parties and problems are explainable from the history of the preceding period.

During those same critical times for the political interests of the Jewish people many Jewish writings were published which help us to trace the development of the religious and ethical thought of the race within which the early Christians arose.

Before the early church had the New Testament writings, or, at least, before any church had any considerable number of them, such of the Christians as were disposed to read depended for religious purposes partly on the Old Testament and partly on those apocalyptic and pseudepigraphical writings which were so highly favored in that age. Outside of the influence of the Old Testament writings upon the New Testament literature the book of Enoch was perhaps the most influential Jewish writing.

CHAPTER I

THE NEW TESTAMENT LITERATURE

WHEN we open to the New Testament, or Greek portion of our Bible, we find that the longest books come early in the collection. The first five books together amount to considerably more than half of the New Testament. These five books purport to be of an historical character and contain, as in the opening five of the Old Testament, the origins and development of the people specially interested. We might call Matthew, Mark, Luke, John and Acts the Pentateuch of the New Testament. There are other analogies to the contents of the Old Testament, for the epistles seem comparable with the prophets, and Revelation is the counterpart of Daniel. There is also a New Testament Apocrypha and a succeeding literature not classified with the contents of the canon.

If we were to follow a chronological order, we should need to begin with the epistles of Paul. But by bearing these facts of date in mind we may take up the books of the New Testament more nearly in the order in which they now appear. The development of the New Testament took a much shorter time than that of the Old. One hundred years is ample allowance for the writing of every book we have and for any books by Christians which may have preceded them as sources.

The New Testament has to do with the life and teachings of Jesus Christ and the religious fellowship of his followers.

There are certain noteworthy connections and distinctions among the first five books. In chronological order they seem to stand thus:

Mark,
Matthew,
Luke and Acts,
John.

The Gospel of John might be looked upon as the Deuteronomic book in its relation to the others. It is the latest of the set and falls quite in a class by itself when we study characteristics and ideas.

The scholar will seek to view these different writings as nearly as possible in the light in which they appeared to their authors. He will ask where and when each book arose, what was its purpose, and what were its relations to contemporaneous thought.

Jesus wrote nothing of what we have and very few of his immediate followers are credited with authorship. The greater activity of the early Christian leaders was in missionary enterprise and in the oral message. The epistles of Paul would probably never have been written if he could have gone in person to the places addressed.

THE GOSPELS

In the New Testament "gospel" means the good news concerning God and man which Jesus brought and which his disciples helped to spread. Early apostles and disciples went in all directions reporting the things which Jesus had said and done and discussing also the significance of these matters. Thus they carried not only Jesus's own message but a message about him. Believing that he was risen from the dead and was to return as their Messiah, they penetrated many countries on missionary tours or carried the teaching as they went on business. Absorbed by a cause which they believed of very great importance to mankind, they were brave and insistent in recommending it. These men and women of varying personal culture became successful religious teachers first among their own people and, as occasion led, to other peoples. They had no need of writings, since they themselves were the authorities and sources. They had no impulse to write, since speaking was more congenial, as, indeed, it had been with their master. Jesus

left no written message but depended on the spiritual impression of his life upon lives.

Later on, however, for one reason or another, writings appeared. Among the reasons must have been the need and desire of preserving accounts of the Saviour and his message. If diverse accounts sprang up, there would be a desire to have a correct record. Christians near and at a distance would seek earnestly for authentic descriptions of the life and teachings of Jesus from those best qualified to give them.

Perhaps the words of Jesus would be put in writing first, or it may have been that narratives containing both words and deeds would arise very early. If this was the case, then many stories, some of them now lost, would be in circulation in the early days in written form. Luke I. 1 says, "Many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us." The German scholar Harnack has listed more than a dozen Gospels besides the four in our Bible. Probably none of these ever had the general favor of Christians equally with any one of those we now possess.

It will be easily seen that the contents of any Gospel may be classified in two literary groups, the teaching group and the narrative group. The proverbs, parables, aphorisms, and conversations of Jesus belong to the first group, while the accounts of travels, cures, and the general setting of his words in place and time belong to the second or narrative group. There are many passages, some of them long ones, where the contents are almost purely teaching. There are other passages which contain no teaching at all but provide pictures of occasions and deeds.

The literary study of the Gospels begins with the recognition of the fact that there is a clear distinction between the first three, or the synoptic, Gospels and the fourth, or Johannine Gospel.

CHAPTER II

THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

THE first three Gospels stand in a class by themselves as being like each other and dissimilar from the fourth. This is seen in the very similar outline of the first three books. The similarity arises from the fact that Mark's outline has been used by the writers of Matthew and Luke who have included also all but a very few paragraphs of Mark's contents.

1. Similar Contents. Compared with a full record of what Jesus did and said, it must seem as if the records in the synoptic Gospels are very scanty. Instead of each Gospel going its separate way and treating of a portion of the complete life, the three Gospels keep for the most part to the same material. As others have pointed out, if Luke be reckoned as containing 210 topics, Matthew 180, and Mark 109, we may observe that all but three of Mark's topics are found in the other two Gospels. Matthew has 100 of Mark's 109, and Luke has 90 of them. Matthew and Luke are not like each other until they reach that point where they begin to use Mark's outline and contents. They are most closely parallel to each other as long as the material in Mark lasts. When that ceases the remaining parts of Matthew and Luke are again unlike each other. Matthew and Luke have their own way of utilizing Mark's materials, but that Mark is their source becomes clear from comparison.

2. Similar Order. It has been noted, as showing the remarkable parallelism in the one hundred and six topics of Mark's that agree with Matthew and Luke, that if we divide

Mark's Gospel into three parts, namely, (a) 1 to 3. 6, (b) 3. 7 to 6. 13, (c) 6. 14 to 16. 8, the relative order of (a) agrees exactly with Luke and for the most part with Matthew, while that of (b) agrees with either Matthew or with Luke, and in parts with both of them, and that of (c) with Matthew exactly, and for the most part with Luke. Thus where Mark's order is ignored by one of the others, it will there be maintained by the third one.

The main reason for saying that Matthew and Luke used Mark rather than that Mark used them is that it is more probable that Matthew and Luke used Mark, omitting a very few topics, than that Mark had the use of either Matthew or Luke, or both, and chose to omit so much while he added almost nothing to their information.

Could it possibly be said that the very close parallelism between Matthew, Mark, and Luke is simply the result of the fact that they are treating of the same subject and would very naturally drift into the same modes of expressing it?

3. Verbal Similarity. Such a position as the one suggested in the last paragraph seems impossible because the selection of material is so small, so similar, and the words and phrases so often nearly identical that it looks certainly as if the writers of Matthew and Luke had written documents before them as they composed. Moreover, the Gospels being comparatively late compositions, and not in the Aramaic language spoken by Jesus or his first reporters, but in the Greek language, the similarities in diction and rhetorical structure within a foreign language show a use of similar sources in Greek. Rare Greek words are found in use by all three Gospels in the parallel passages. If the Gospels were in the language spoken by Jesus, the above theory might seem more plausible. The same objection holds against a theory formerly common that all three Gospels may have simply written down the current oral tradition concerning the life and teachings of Jesus.

As to whether there was one original Gospel from which

all three drew, B. W. Bacon says: "We should not know at which to marvel most: (1) the disappearance of so precious a record, (2) the folly of our evangelists in omitting, each, some of the choicest material, (3) the folly of the church in accepting any one of them as a substitute for the original whole."

4. Variations. Why is the question of priority and the subject of the original sources of the Gospels so earnestly studied? For the reason that the variations are sufficiently numerous to make the discovery of the actual words and the order of events in the life of Jesus difficult. It is necessary for the sake of his teaching to know these things as accurately as possible. Thus the search for the original character of the records becomes very important.

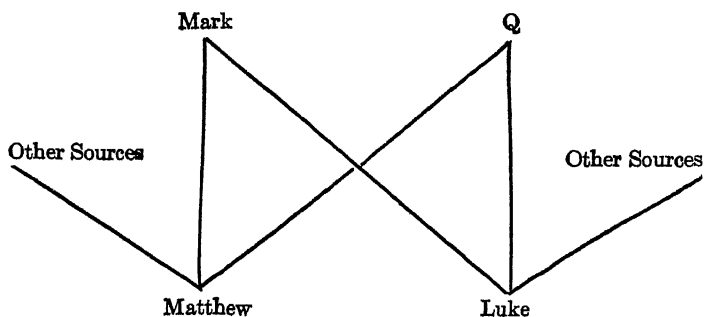
As to the question whether there were editions or forms of our three Gospels earlier than those we have, Eusebius, a church historian of the fourth century, quotes interesting passages from a still earlier writer named Papias, who was a bishop of Hierapolis in the first half of the second century A. D., and who knew persons who were friends of the apostles and other disciples of Jesus. Papias is the earliest of several who record that Matthew wrote certain things in Hebrew. "Matthew then composed the Logia in the Hebrew tongue, and everyone translated them as he was able." Thus it seems that there was a collection of sayings of Jesus called the Logia, written by Matthew. Our Matthew contains that kind of material, but also more which seems closely dependent on Mark. So it seems that Matthew as we have it is a later work than Mark.

Instead of the Logia, or sayings of Jesus written down by Matthew, the common source is often referred to by writers by the symbol Q (quelle). Certain scholars believe that there was an earlier form of Mark than ours and refer to it as the Ur-Marcus. Scholars vary as to which was earlier, and hence which may have been used by the other, "Q" or the "Ur-Marcus." That such a use of earlier books

by our canonical Gospels would be in keeping with the literary methods of that day is shown by the similar practice in the composition of Tatian's Diatessaron. This was a book made during the latter half of the second century by combining Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John into one Gospel to be read in the churches. This fourfold (Diatessaron) Gospel was a favorite, and at one time in the Eastern churches its use bade fair to displace the separate Gospels of which it was composed.

There have been different theories seeking to account for the peculiar literary relationship seen to exist between the three Gospels. The most common is some form of what is known as the "Two-Source Theory," which holds that Matthew's Logia, in a Greek form, or, to be less definite, "Q," and Mark, substantially as we have it, are the two main sources used by the Gospels Matthew and Luke. It is then clearly recognized that both Matthew and Luke must have had their independent sources for the extra material.

The relations of the three Gospels may be suggested by the accompanying diagram.



This device illustrates four points:

1. A comparison of Mark with Matthew and Luke shows likenesses which can be explained only by assuming Mark to be the source of the other two.
2. Aside from the material drawn from Mark, Matthew and

Luke have other material so much alike that it must have come from some common source.

3. There was probably more than one source common to Matthew and Luke, so that, in the diagram, Q represents not a single source but several sources of which one very probably was the Logia of the apostle Matthew.

4. Aside from the common source, Matthew and Luke each had independent sources not used by the other Gospel.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. What is the chief reason for classifying the first three Gospels in one group?
2. How extensive is the similarity of the three?
3. With the aid of Huck's Harmony, or some other, assure yourself of the facts concerning the similarities as stated in the text.
4. If the original language of the disciples was Aramaic, and we have verbal similarities and even identities in Greek Gospels, how does that indicate a common literary origin for much of the material?
5. Which of the various kinds of similarity is to you the most conclusive?
6. What would be an oral theory of the common origin of the three Gospels?
7. Why is an oral theory not held?
8. What kinds of variation are there in the three Gospels?
9. In what portions of Matthew and Luke is the greatest independence found?
10. Tatian's Diatessaron as a topic for a short paper. (See Encyc. Dict. and Hamlyn Hill's *The Earliest Life of Christ*.)
11. State the Synoptic Problem.
12. Give a theory that will solve it.
13. Compare Mark 1 with Matt 3, 4, 8; Luke 3, 4, 5, for likenesses and differences of content, order, wording. What kinds of changes have Matthew and Luke made on the basis of the original material in Mark?
14. Compare Matt 3. 7-12 with Luke 3. 7-17. Are they from a common source?
15. Are Matt 2 and Luke 2 from a common source?

CHAPTER III

MATTHEW

MATTHEW is much longer than Mark and obviously dependent upon it. More than nine tenths of the subjects of Mark are seen again in Matthew. Sometimes the parallels are very striking, as if one simply took over an account of something from the other, and at other times the differences show literary changes, expanding, restating, and rearranging.

But even though most of Mark appears again in Matthew, that accounts for only half of Matthew. The bulk of the remaining portion is in the nature of discourses, parables, and sayings. This large amount of sayings of Jesus was found in the Logia which the author of the present Gospel used. That there was such a source we feel certain, because it is so closely parallel to similar material in Luke. And that this earlier source was the collection of the sayings of Jesus by Matthew the apostle, which Papias referred to as the Logia, we feel reasonably sure. The present Gospel is called Matthew probably because it is an expansion of the Logia by Matthew. There is also in Matthew some matter neither from Mark nor the Logia, and we do not know whence the author secured it, but very likely from other books current in his day.

The author of our Matthew took Mark as a framework and added, here and there, the sayings of Jesus from the Logia. Then he revised the result, so that his book makes a more literary treatment of the subject than Mark. At times he enlarged upon his original in Mark, but at other times he even reduced Mark's narrative. A notable result

of this is that we have in Matthew a book which is nearer being a life of Jesus Christ, because in addition to the active career in Mark, Matthew added a genealogy, an account of the birth and infancy and a fuller treatment of the closing scenes of Jesus's career and also the large amount of teachings.

In Mark there is a little evidence of grouping, but in Matthew there is so much of it as to make topical arrangement the notable method in that Gospel. Possibly the Logia was even more topical in its grouping of sayings, and Matthew has rearranged it occasionally to fit Mark's narrative outline. Luke broke up the topical arrangement even more. On the other hand, the author of the present book of Matthew may have imposed the topical form upon the matter quoted from the Logia. The result, in Matthew, is a book possessed of a remarkable unity of literary execution and religious idea. We might state the theme of the book as "The Messiah of the Spiritual Realm Guiding the True Israel."

Who was the author of this book? Not Matthew, whose book, the Logia, is used, for he would not have depended upon Mark, who was not an apostle, for the story of Jesus' career, which he himself could have supplied better. But even if unknown by name, the personality of the writer stands out clearly in the work. He was a Jew, but one who was convinced that the Jews had committed the gravest error in rejecting Jesus as the Messiah. Some think that the author "betrays the vocation of a teacher incidentally in the mnemonic and mathematical arrangements of his materials." He was a true Hebrew but not a mere legalist. His sympathies were more surely with the ethical sensitiveness of the old prophets. We gather these indications of the author's point of view from his selections and emphasis of the words and deeds of Jesus. The name "Matthew" was given to this work because of its dependence upon the Logia of the apostle.

What purpose did the author of Matthew have in the publication of this large work which draws upon Mark, the Logia, and certain other sources, giving a more extended treatment of the entire life? He sought to give in dignified, beautiful treatment a portrait of Jesus the Saviour of the world. He sought to show his fellow Jews that Jesus was the true Hebrew Messiah, and that he was far more important than all the institutions of the Jews. He declared that Jesus Christ was the Saviour of the world-wide Israel, no longer restricting that term to the Jewish race.

The outline of Matthew in simplest form is:

Introduction, 1 to 4. 11.

Galilæan Ministry, 4. 12 to 18. 35.

Judæan Ministry, 19. 1 to 25.

The Passion, 26. 1 to 28. 20.

A comparison of Matthew and Mark will show that Mark's outline is dominant wherever the two Gospels are parallel. The additions of Matthew are at the beginning and ending of Mark's material and in the large insertions of teaching. The additions are found in chs. 1 and 2, the genealogy and infancy, and in chs. 27 and 28. There are added also the passages 8. 5-22; 14. 28-31; 17. 24-27. (Mark 7. 31-37; 8. 22-26 are omitted from both Matthew and Luke.) Perhaps the most valuable additions made by our Matthew, however, are the groups of Jesus's teachings. These discourses of Jesus are inserted in the narrative outline that Mark provided. The clearest case of Matthew's gift in topical arrangement is the Sermon on the Mount.

The date of the composition of our Gospel Matthew is set by scholars all the way from 70 to 90 A. D., with the majority favoring the earlier date (see Matt 22. 7 also 10. 23; 16. 28). There is a geographical suggestion in 9. 26, 31, while 1. 23; 27. 33, 46 together with the fact that it is a Greek book, show that the author wrote for Hebrews who spoke Greek.

In a sense that is true of no other book Matthew may be called the New Old Testament. It gathers up the ethical results and the religious idealism of the old covenant and sees them crowned in the one whom Mark called the Son of God. The author of this Gospel emphasized the fact that Jesus Christ is the Son of David, the Son of Abraham (1. 1); that is to say, the Son of man, who by the Spirit of God is all that Mark claimed and more, inasmuch as he is the ideal of every prophetic and messianic hope. He is the King, but one meek, lowly, sympathetic, yet greater than any worldly politician could ever be. If Mark presented the wonderful, the heroic Son of God to whom all, willingly or unwillingly, must necessarily testify, Matthew presented Jesus Christ as the consummate ideal of the Righteous One, the perfect Prince of the true Israel.

The author of our Matthew offered a far better justification of the old covenant than did Paul or any other New Testament writer. He conserved every value of the old and was yet progressive enough to welcome the new. He offered the most practical way of passing from the one to the other.

It will be noted that the themes of Matthew are old in word but new in significance. Whether he treats of king, kingdom, prophecy, or Messiah, the language is familiar to the reader of the Old Testament, but the quality of the discussion is ethical rather than merely national.

With almost unconscious assumption, because it is so clear to the mind of the writer, the existence of God the Father is taken for granted throughout this writing. There is, therefore, rather less direct reference to God, Father, and Spirit than one might look for in such a book. Jesus is represented as referring less to himself than might be expected in so large a collection of his sayings (compare Matt 27. 11 with Mark 14. 62). The writer is so filled with the devout spirit of the Hebrew that he moves unconstrained in a personal, prophetic intimacy with things divine. We

have as the result an almost purely ethical Gospel set in Hebrew piety.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Compare the Gospels Matthew and Mark in their general characteristics much as you would two persons.
 2. What is the character of the material in Matthew that differs from Mark? Where do you find extended passages of it?
 3. If we had Matthew's Logia, how might it help us in this study?
 4. How may the author of our present Matthew have gone to work to compose his Gospel from different sources?
 5. Why should we prefer the result to any one of his sources?
 6. Prove from selected chapters of Matthew that the author used a topical method in presenting his material.
 7. State several possible wordings of the theme of Matthew.
 8. Try to trace Mark's outline in Matthew.
 9. What is Matthew's portrait of Jesus?
 10. Read ch. 5 and indicate the literary likenesses to the style of the Old Testament: poetic parallelism; proverbial statement; precept, etc.
 11. Illustrate from other chapters that Matthew wrote for Jews.
 12. In ch. 13 what reminds you of the prophets of the Old Testament?
 13. In ch. 13 what is Jesus's teaching about the kingdom? How does it try to modify the common Jewish idea?
 14. What is the religious and ethical point of view gained from familiarity with the Gospel of Matthew?
 15. Read chs. 14 and 27 and compare with the narrative power of the J and E schools.
 16. Read chs. 23 to 25 and state the nearest analogies in the Old Testament literature.
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CHAPTER IV

MARK

THERE is a tradition variously reported in the early church writers to the effect that this account in Mark depends on Peter. Some say it was written while Peter was yet alive, and others date it after his death. Eusebius, the early church historian, quotes from an earlier writer, Papias, who, as already stated, was bishop of Hierapolis in the first half of the second century:

“Mark, being the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately everything that he remembered, not, however, recording in order what was said or done by Christ. For neither did he hear the Lord nor follow him, but afterward, as I said, attended Peter, who adapted his instructions to the needs of his hearers but had no purpose of giving a connected treatment of the Lord’s words. Mark made no mistake as he wrote down thus certain things as he remembered them; for he was careful not to omit anything that he heard or to set down any false statement” (Eusebius H. E., 3. 39).

John Mark, though not an apostle, was closely associated with Peter, who is represented as calling Mark his son (in the faith) in 1 Pet 5. 13. Mark was a cousin of Barnabas and was with Barnabas and Saul on their first missionary tour. Tradition says that Mark was written at Rome. Certain modern scholars emphasize the claim that it was written for Gentile readers, while others hold that an early Gospel of Mark was revised by a Roman Christian. There is much discussion as to what the various testimonies, and particularly that of Papias, mean. Papias says that Mark did not record “in order.” Did he refer to Mark as we have

it or to an earlier form of the same account? Have the connective notes of place and occasion in Mark been added since Papias wrote, or does he include them in his criticism? That is to say, does Papias's criticism of Mark's order and arrangement refer to Mark's chronological order or to the rhetorical order, arrangement, and the scope of the Gospel? There is certainly a definite outline of narrative in Mark. Fault has been found with the chronological scheme of Mark, but most of all with the connective notes of place and time which to certain scholars seem at points to have been added without an accurate tradition. Compare connection of 3. 7 with context and with 5. 1, etc.; 7. 24, etc.; compare 3. 13-15 with 9. 2-29 (mountains and demons). See 1. 16.

Another reason for believing that the successive notes of place in Mark cannot be in chronological order is that they do not seem to give an adequate outline of the activities of Jesus.

One may try for oneself with the aid of a map to arrange the successive *loci* and get the historical and geographical scheme independent of the clusters of teaching which may thus be seen to be more or less correctly attached to the narrative stems. Moreover, such a study will reveal how much of the topical character really belongs to Mark's treatment in spite of the superficial impression one gets of its lack in that respect.

From the indications of place as given in succession in the story in Mark, we may attempt to reconstruct the itinerary of Jesus somewhat as follows:

Beginning with Mark 1. 14:

"Jesus came into Galilee," 1. 14.

"passing along by the sea of Galilee," 1. 16.

"they go into Capernaum," 1. 21.

(synagogue and house, 1. 29.)

in morning went out, desert place, 1. 35.

"next towns" and their synagogues through all Galilee, 1. 38 and 39.

"a city," or "the city," "without in desert places," 1. 45.

"he entered again into Capernaum after some days," 2. 1.

"he went forth again by the seaside," 2. 13.

"Through the grainfields" (Sabbath), 2. 23.

"into the synagogue," 3. 1.

"Jesus with his disciples withdrew to the sea," 3. 7.

"goeth up into the mountain," 3. 13.

"and he cometh into a house," 3. 19b.

(What has this to do with 3. 13-19a and 3. 2ff.?).

"and again he began to teach by the seaside," 4. 1.

"Let us go over unto the other side," 4. 35f. "And they came to the other side," 5. 1.

"And when Jesus had crossed over again in the boat unto the other side," 5. 21; "by the sea," "the synagogue."

"And he went out from thence; and he cometh into his own country," 6. 1.

"And he went round about the villages teaching," 6. 6b.

"a desert place," 6. 31; "in the boat to a desert place," 6. 32; the people ran there on foot and outwent them, 6. 33; there were villages about, 6. 36.

"to go before him unto the other side to Bethsaida," 6. 45.

"he departed into the mountain to pray," 6. 46.

"crossed over . . . to the land unto Gennesaret," 6. 53.

villages, cities, country, 6. 56; where, into the house? 7. 17. Where was this?

"And from thence he arose and went away into the borders of Tyre and Sidon," 7. 24.

"And again he went out from the borders of Tyre and through Sidon unto the Sea of Galilee through the midst of the borders of Decapolis," 7. 31.

"And straight he entered into the boat with his disciples and came into the parts of Dalmanutha," 8. 10.

Further indications of place are found in 8. 22, 27; 9. 2, 9, 30, 33; 10. 17; 10. 32, 46; 11. 1, 11, 12, 15, 19, 27; 12. 35, 41; 13. 1, 3; 14. 3, 17f., 26, 32, 53; 15. 1, 16, 20, 22, 46; 16. 6.

Why are the data comparatively scanty, considering how large a volume an adequate life of Christ would make? All the activities of the early disciples led to a kind of missionary specialization which picked out those materials that would be of most use for immediate purposes. They did not grasp the scope of the life and influence of Jesus.

The subject of Mark is Jesus's active ministry and

accompanying experiences with special attention to the tragic close of the earthly career.

The simplest outline of the book would recognize three parts:

1. Introduction.
2. Galilæan Experiences.
3. Judæan Experiences.

The last chapter of Mark has suffered loss; 16. 8 ends abruptly in the middle of a sentence, and the present vv. 9-20 have been added to some manuscripts from an unauthentic source. Moreover, the vv. 9-20 disagree in content with the expectation of 14. 27-31 (66-72); 16. 7, and are more closely related to Luke's account.

Other passages in our present Mark which have been questioned as to original right in the Gospel include 9. 49, 50b; 10. 12, 38b, 39b.

The purpose of the book is to show that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God. The first verse announces it and every turn and circumstance supports it. Prophets, John the Baptist, the Voice from heaven, demons, cures, words, amazement, wonder, the meeting of all caviling, the testimony of a scribe, and of Peter, the "I am" of Jesus himself (14. 62), the words of the centurion, provide an accumulation of proof for Jesus's position.

Sketch of the contents of Mark. The Gospel is an undertaking to tell the good news about or concerning Jesus Christ. John the Baptist gave very plain testimony concerning the uniqueness of Jesus Christ and distinguished him as the one who would baptize with the Spirit of God. A Voice from the heavens adds the only remaining testimony possible, unless it be the wonderful deeds themselves of this compassionate One (see also 14. 62). Even the unclean spirit testifies to Jesus. Sickness, diseases, demons, all yield and (2. 5) Jesus even says, "Son, thy sins are forgiven."

Thereupon ensues the first question of hostility. The scribes say, in their hearts, "Why?" (2. 6-8.) Astonishment was early aroused (1. 22); but such things could not yet stem the great tide of popularity. Jesus replies at once to the incipient criticism and by his logic (2. 9ff.) amazes the audience.

By his authority thus exhibited morally and physically he continues to call men into his ministry (2. 14 and see 1. 17; 2. 15ff.). The cavilings of the scribes and the Pharisees are frankly met and Jesus throws his interests in with the sinners and not with the righteous.

Jesus even goes the length (3. 1ff.) of dispensing with the current religious program when it neglects the interests of the needy. This as it affected the Sabbath was too much for the Pharisaic party, who "went out and straightway with the Herodians took counsel against him how they might destroy him" (3. 6).

The fate planned for Jesus does not immediately affect his popular favor. The multitudes are still his followers. Jesus (3. 13ff.) draws about himself those who will most surely remain with him. They number twelve men. There is a little company of enemies plotting his destruction; there is a little company of devoted friends; then there is the great multitude—the parish of his compassions.

But, tragically enough, neither little company understands him (3. 21); "and when his friends heard it, they went out to lay hold on him; for they said, He is beside himself (3. 22), and the scribes that came down from Jerusalem said, He hath Beelzebub, and by the prince of the demons casteth he out the demons."

The popularity of Jesus increases and his teaching continues near the western shore of Galilee. He next crosses to the country of the Gerasenes (ch. 5), but is besought to leave them, as the people are appalled at his deeds. He seems to think that the great deeds have their own hindering effects upon his message. The two themes of the Great

Teacher and the Wonder-worker seem to struggle together in the writer's mind (6. 52; 7. 6, 37; 8. 38).

Jesus disturbs the ordinary estimates when he says that the first shall be last and the last first, as well as by the lessons from the little child (9).

Through chs. 10, 11, and 12 the conflict and the premonition of the end become more apparent.

In ch. 13 the apocalyptic warnings of future trouble to his followers appear, and heighten the sense of tragedy.

His very friends are unstable (14), and the enemy seizes upon his person and ultimately leads him to the cross.

The bitter tide has swept him away. What remains of the Gospel is the beginning of that great tide of humaneness that has never ceased to flow toward the Saviour on the cross.

This Gospel must have been written near the time of those severe trials which brought to the mind of the writer the words of the Lord in ch. 13. We refer to the distressful times in Palestine when the Romans were in the country with a devastating army, besieging Jerusalem. Such anguish and sense of the end would recall the words recorded in that ominous, apocalyptic chapter. Scholars set the date all the way between 65 and 75 A. D.

The book is a compact and rapidly told narrative, vivid and dramatic in its style which is more a spoken than a literary style. Its realism and force are soon felt. One has the sense often of being present in its scenes and catching influences of color, sounds, and other impressions of a participant. Its most striking literary characteristic is its vividness. (1) The historical present is frequently used, (2) The very Aramaic words used by Jesus are often repeated (5. 41; 7. 11, 34). (3) The very attitude and gestures of Jesus are often noted. (4) Details not necessary for the story are narrated. (5) The Gospel is largely concerned with the deeds rather than the words of Jesus.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Tell all that is known about the origins of Mark's narrative.
2. What more would we like in Mark's outline?
3. In the notes of place in the outline where is the sequence least clear?
4. From the outline, how long would the active ministry of Jesus seem to have been?
5. What are the main divisions of Mark's outline?
6. Discuss the state of the text in the last chapter of Mark. Read in other New Testament Introduction.
7. For what purpose was Mark written?
8. How far in the life of Christ does the first chapter of Mark take us?
9. Why is there such a difference as this from the opening of Matthew?
10. Read Mark 3, and explain the difference between its narrative manner and Matthew 14 to 27.
11. Compare for content and style, Mark 13 with Matt 23 to 25.
12. Read Mark 1 and 2, noting elements of vividness.
13. Read Mark 3 to 9 for (a) kinds of incidents told; (b) impressions of Jesus on the people, noted by Mark; (c) main ideas of Jesus's teachings?
14. What impression about Jesus does Mark wish to leave on the reader?

CHAPTER V

LUKE

ALTHOUGH a number of accounts of the career and words of Jesus Christ had been attempted, the Greek literary and historical sense of the author of the third Gospel was not satisfied, and doubtless he felt that many like him would approve if he undertook faithfully to outline all things from the beginning of the gospel proclamation. He had valuable material to add, as well, to the information already found in his predecessors. He brought to his task more of the European method of Greek historical writers, and continued his work in a second book which we know as the Acts of the Apostles.

It is ordinarily believed that this author was Luke, the physician, friend, and ofttime traveling companion of Paul (Col 4. 14; Philem 24).

The outline of the third Gospel may be drawn as follows :

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| 1. Introduction, 1 to 2 | { | The Preface. |
| | | Stories of the Infancy. |
| 2. Galilæan Scenes, 3 to 9 | { | John the Baptist. |
| | | Genealogy. |
| | | Temptation. |
| | | Ministry of Jesus. |
| 3. Perean Scenes, 10 to 19. | | 28. |
| 4. Judæan Scenes, 19. 29 to 24. | | |

It will be seen that the material peculiar to Luke is in the first and third sections of the outline. Luke is a little longer than Matthew. It omits more of Mark than does Matthew, but keeps its narrative in close dependence on Mark's outline. It seeks, more often than Matthew does, to provide its discourses with narrative connections.

The narratives in Luke are more explicit than in Mark, clearing up any ambiguity that might be found in the terse and colloquial statements of Mark, securing precision, sometimes by expansion and sometimes by obvious translations of Mark's thought. Wherever possible Luke makes this treatment add to the dignity and the graciousness of the Lord, or give an official aspect to his mission.

Compare Luke 4. 33 with Mark 1. 23

"	"	4. 38	"	"	1. 30
"	"	4. 41	"	"	1. 34
"	"	4. 43	"	"	1. 38
"	"	8. 22	"	"	4. 35
"	"	8. 24f.	"	"	4. 39ff.
"	"	8. 29	"	"	5. 8.
"	"	8. 47	"	"	5. 33
"	"	8. 54	"	"	5. 41
"	"	19. 33	"	"	11. 5
"	"	19. 38	"	"	11. 9

Many other passages illustrate these traits of Luke.

Luke sometimes omitted Mark's material in order to make the account stand out more clearly. Luke 18. 35 as compared with Mark 10. 46 has been greatly simplified. A notable case of omission is the story of the feeding of the multitude. Both Mark and Matthew have two instances of this. Luke selects one of them (Luke 9. 10 ff.).

Luke's tendency to interpret in detail seems at times to change the intent of Mark's statement, as in the actual bodily form of the Spirit (Luke 3. 21; Mark 1. 10). Also in Luke 4. 41 (Mark 1. 34) Mark's statement that Jesus suffered not the demons to speak is contrasted with their utterance in Luke, after which they are rebuked. Part of this seems to be for the sake of testimony, as in Luke 19. 38 (compare Mark 11. 9), where "he" is changed to "king." A notable instance of this interpretation is in Luke 4. 43 (Mark 1. 38) listed above.

As compared with Matthew, it is commonly thought that

Luke preserves a better order and connection of the sayings of Jesus; at least it seems more plausible to us. We do not know Luke's authority for making the connections. The most clear instance is the Sermon on the Mount, the sayings of which are attached to various points in the career of Jesus, thus abbreviating the Sermon in Luke. Great care, apparently, was expended by the author of Luke on this literary and historical arrangement of materials. Such a passage as Luke 13. 22-35 makes a single presentation of materials found in chs. 7, 8, 19, 23, and 25 of Matthew.

A few scholars hold that Luke's report of Jesus's words is much to be preferred to that of Matthew. With this judgment many would disagree.

Luke had no occasion, as did Matthew, to show the relation of Jesus to the old covenant. Luke's purpose was to call attention to the significance of Jesus for the Roman world. He is the one who mentions the name of the emperor (2. 1; 3. 1; Acts 11. 28; 18. 2) and who names the Roman officials.

Luke's peculiar material is found in chapters 1 to 3, also in 4. 16-30; 7. 11-17; 7. 36-50; 9. 51-56; 10. 25-37; 10. 38-42; 12. 13-21; 13. 1-5; 13. 10-17; 15. 11-32; 16. 1-12; 16. 19-31; 17. 11-19; 18. 1-3; 18. 9-14; 19. 1-10; 23. 4-19; 23. 39-43; 24. 13-35. A reading of this shows what valuable material Luke adds to the synoptic record. Much of it, in the early chapters, is such as the author of Matthew would probably have been glad to use had he known of it; and it will be noticed that the selection does not wholly neglect material which would be even more interesting to a Hebrew than to a Gentile.

Luke had a very characteristic style. He put the vivacity and joyousness of the Greek nature into his narratives, drew fine pictures of personalities and events.

1. He portrayed domestic scenes and included many women among his characters.

2. There is a strong religious interest. He emphasized prayer and praise.

3. He tended to heighten the impressions and effects, presenting grander and more marvelous situations, testimonies, and results in the career of Jesus.

4. He showed keen historical interest, relating most closely the deeds and words of Jesus.

5. He was not only an editor of material but a gifted composer. He used beautiful Greek especially in his earlier passages. Notice the grace of his preface (1. 1-4). Those four verses alone suggest to us the following points about Luke's method: (1) That it was the scholarly, historical method of the classical historian, reminding us of Herodotus. (2) That it is the nearest in the Bible to the modern method. Luke used his sources critically, being dissatisfied with the fragmentary Gospels of his day. (3) That he had a literary patron, as was customary with European authors. (4) That he was more conscious of the dignity of his task, which was to present a satisfactory history of Jesus.

Luke's is the most cosmopolitan of the synoptic Gospels, and was the most successful Christian appeal to the great Roman and Greek world until the writing of a more philosophical Gospel, that of John.

There was a very famous and earnest heretic by the name of Marcion who taught in Rome about 144 A. D. He sought to confine himself to a strictly Pauline collection of writings as his Scriptures and seized upon Luke as the true Gospel, though he left out certain parts of it.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. What justification was there for a third Gospel?
2. What is the independent material in Luke?
3. Compare certain parallels in Luke and Mark as to style and meaning.
4. What were the chief characteristics of Luke as an author?
5. What does 1. 1-4 show as to the writer and his purpose?
6. Distinguish between story and song in Luke 1 to 4.

7. Why does Luke's insertion of the genealogy come in ch. 3 while in Matt it is in ch. 1? Compare the genealogies.
 8. Read Luke 11 to 14. Make a list of the subjects with which Jesus's teaching is here concerned.
 9. Read 15, 16, 18. What is the meaning of each of the parables?
 10. In those chapters is the teaching Jewish or universal? What of the frequency of references to the Messiah? To the Old Testament?
 11. What is the teaching in the above passages as to God's love for the poor and sinful?
 12. Summarize the impressions of Jesus which Luke makes in chs. 11 to 18.
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CHAPTER VI

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE LITERARY FORM OF THE TEACHINGS OF JESUS

WE have seen the service of criticism in tracing the sources and methods in the writing of our first three Gospels. The next step is to study the literary form of the teachings of Jesus as they are embodied in these Gospels, seeking to distinguish the style of the original teachings from the style of the authors. The teachings of Jesus seem at first easily separable from the context in which they are set in the Gospels, and appear (1) to be similar in form to utterances of the Hebrew Wisdom teachers, those sages whose short, pithy statements, proverbs, parables, and illustrative stories are found in the Wisdom writings. (2) The spirit of Jesus's teachings seems most akin to the fervent quality of the great prophets.

But further comparison of these teachings in parallel passages in two or more Gospels shows that their literary form varies between the Gospels so that we have still further work to do before we can recover the original style of Jesus's teaching. The reason for the difficulty is that the sayings of Jesus have come to us through the memory of others and in the context chosen by the author.

One of the most instructive passages in which to make a comparative study of sayings is the Sermon on the Mount which appears in two Gospels, Matthew and Luke.

The Sermon on the Mount. When thinking of the teachings of Jesus most people would picture him as speaking out of doors. We remember that he spoke in synagogues also, in homes, and in the temple. But he uttered most of his words to the people in the less conventional open air.

It is not likely that a set discourse, such as a modern sermon, was ever delivered by the Master. We think of him rather as conversing with friends and discussing with the skeptical. Probably the most finished utterances were his parables. When speaking to a group and with prophetic fervor his discourse would be marked with intensity and rhythm not dissimilar to poetical passages in the Old Testament prophets.

Many scholars would hold to the opinion that there was a distinctive Sermon on the Mount comparable with at least a part of the account in Matthew. A few would go so far as to claim that we have the accounts of two such discourses, one in Matthew and one in Luke. But the preponderating opinion is that they are meant to refer to the same occasion, the same Sermon. The very similar beginning and closing sections in each are pretty conclusive signs of identity. Yet they are of very different length and contain strange variations. It would, therefore, be allowed that much other teaching of Jesus has been gathered about the core of the Sermon in Matthew, for it is improbable that Jesus would gather so many unrelated themes in one discourse.

With regard to the question, "How well would the sayings of Jesus be remembered by his hearers?" it may be granted that the retention of a number of the incisive sentences of Jesus would not be too great a burden for the Oriental memory. As to many more of his sayings, there would be no great care to preserve their absolute statement if the substance were retained.

Concerning the question of sayings being repeated, or the utterance of very similar sayings on different occasions, both probabilities may be allowed, but especially the latter. It is very likely that Jesus' sayings had certain leading characteristics of spirit and expression which would be readily recognized and remembered by certain of his keener disciples.

OUTLINE OF THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT

<i>Matthew</i>		<i>Luke</i>
5. 1 and 2	Place and Audience	6. 17 and 20
(1) 5. 3-12	Beatitudes	6. 20-23
(2) (see 23. 13-36)	Woes	6. 24-26
(3) 5. 13-16	Similes of Salt and Light	(14. 34f.; 11. 33)
(4) 5. 17-20	Concerning Old Law and Prophets	(16. 17)
(5) 5. 21f.	The Spirit of Murder	
(6) 5. 23f.	Reconciliation	
(7) 5. 25f.	Legal Immunity	(12. 57-59)
(8) 5. 27f.	Adultery	
(9) 5. 29f.	Purging of Evil	
(10) 5. 31f.	Divorce	(16. 18)
(11) 5. 33-37	Oaths	
(12) 5. 38-42	Nonresistance	6. 29f.
(13) 5. 43-48	Love of Enemies	6. 27f., 32-36
(14) 6. 1-4	Alms	
(15) 6. 5-8	Prayer	
(16) 6. 9-15	Lord's Prayer	(11. 1-4)
(17) 6. 16-18	Fasting	
(18) 6. 19-21	Treasure—Earthly and Heavenly	(12. 33f.)
(19) 6. 22f.	Light Within	(11. 34-36)
(20) 6. 24	Two Masters	(16. 13)
(21) 6. 25-34	Anxiety	(12. 22-31)
(22) 7. 1-5	Hypocritical Judgments	6. 37-42
(23) 7. 6	Pearls to Swine, etc.	
(24) 7. 7-11	Asking and Receiving	(11. 9-13)
(25) 7. 12	Golden Rule	6. 31
(26) 7. 13f.	Strait and Narrow Way	(13. 23f.)
(27) 7. 15	False Prophets	
(28) 7. 16-20 (cf. 12. 33-35)	Good and Bad Fruit	6. 43-45
(29) 7. 21-23	False Profession	6. 46 (13. 26f.)
(30) 7. 24-27	Character as a Building	6. 47-49

Viewing the two accounts of the Sermon side by side, we notice the following similarities:

1. Both place the collection of teachings early in the outline of Jesus's ministry.

2. Both begin with beatitudes.

3. Both contain the following sections: 1, 12, 13, 22, 25, 28, 29, 30.

4. Both end in the same manner, with the lesson of the builder.

We note the following variations:

1. The Length. Matthew's version, in English, makes 107 verses; Luke's, 30 verses.

2. The Beatitudes: Luke has four in the second person plural; Matthew's version has several more and in the third person.

In Matthew 5. 10, 11, the last beatitude is repeated, being given in the third person in verse 10 and in the second person in verse 11. This device strengthens by emphasis the closing beatitude. The concrete case in verse 11 is in parallel structure and affords emphasis, while the use of the second person is an easy transition to the style (second person) of the succeeding exhortations.

The "blessing on the meek" is, apparently, not original with the Sermon on the Mount, not being found in any certain order in the MSS.; which would suggest that it may be a comment worked in from the margin, where it had been drawn from Psa 37. 11. It disturbs the very evident intention of Matthew to present seven beatitudes. The author's fondness for arrangement by sevens would incline him to give a dignified opening to the Sermon on the Mount by seven grand, spiritually conceived blessings. Notice the sevenfold grouping in chs. 13 and 23, also in Matthew's version of the Lord's Prayer.

There is an altogether different feeling in the Beatitudes as reported by Matthew and Luke. The reference to class conditions is felt in Luke's version. The two interpretations of the Beatitudes are as different as two contrasted conceptions of the kingdom, the evolutionary and the revolutionary. In Matthew the blessings flow logically out of the spiritual states and are the normal results of certain types of character. In Luke the promise is that the blessings

named are assured in spite of and opposed to the present conditions of privation.

3. The Woes. Luke's account has an equal number of woes following the Beatitudes. Contrasted parallelism is a very common literary custom in both the Old and the New Testament, and hence it is not at all impossible that similar blessings and woes may have been in the discourse of Jesus.

4. Omissions from Luke. Many verses of Matthew's Sermon on the Mount are not found anywhere in Luke's Gospel. Most of them are passages which would not be serviceable to Luke's Gentile readers, but occasionally even Luke included distinctly Hebraistic material.

5. Variations as to Place and Audience. These are of minor importance. For the place see Matt 5. 1; Luke 6. 12 and 17; for the audience see Matt 4. 25; 5. 1; 7. 28; Luke 6. 17 and 20 and 7. 1.

Compare the number of the apostles chosen before the preaching of the Sermon (Matt 4. 18-22 and Luke 6. 13ff.).

6. Attempt to Place Sayings in Connection with Their Historical Occasions. Luke shows a keener historical purpose and an eye to chronological sequence of events. Thus he sought to provide probable connections between sayings of Jesus and their appropriate occasion. The sayings were probably collected originally without great regard for such connections and Matthew shows far less tendency to supply the lack. Thus in Matthew the topical method is more likely to prevail than the chronological. But Luke sought to separate the groups of sayings and affix each to the proper point in the narrative. This outstanding difference in the methods of the authors will explain many of their variations from each other.

A prominent instance of the difference which the connection or setting of a passage makes is the Lord's Prayer (Matt 6. 9-13; Luke 11. 1-4). In Luke it is found outside of the Sermon on the Mount, and would seem to come

more naturally in response to a request of the disciples, "Lord, teach us to pray," than in the associations in which it is found in Matthew.

7. The variation of meaning in the following parallel passages in the two Gospels, whether they are put by both in the Sermon on the Mount or placed by one author in some other connection:

(1) Under paragraph 2 we have already seen the variations between the Beatitudes as given in Matthew and Luke. By adding the words "in spirit" to the first blessing, Matthew makes an utterly different meaning from Luke's.

(2) Matt 5. 23f. presents a lofty ideal as compared with vv. 25 and 26, which seem sordid by contrast, and thus an anticlimax to the preceding two verses. The thought in 5. 25f. is given by Luke also in 12. 54-59. Note how superior is Luke's manner of introducing his thought in vv. 58, 59. First he treats of natural phenomena (vv. 54, 55) and then leads on logically and suggestively to the specific case of peacemaking and foresight.

(3) Matt 5. 38-42 and Luke 6. 29f. Matthew's form of presentation results simply in the teaching, "Do not take revenge," or passive resistance. Luke brings out the nature of the positive law of love.

(4) Matt 6. 19-21, about laying up heavenly treasure, seems to have no relationship with the two verses which precede, but in Luke 12. 13-34 there is much rhetorical grace and a good climax.

(5) Matt 7. 1; Luke 6. 37, "Judge not." In Matthew this evidently refers to the habits of Pharisees, but in Luke it is refined and broadened, in accord with his custom of dropping Jewish references.

(6) Matt 7. 3-5; Luke 6. 39-42. This is the "mote and beam" passage which Matthew joins closely with "Judge not," but in Luke the connection is broken by a parable. The result is that the "mote and beam" teaching is not so much a matter of judging as a teaching concerning the

uselessness of the unprepared in assisting the needy. Thus a lesson is given in preparation for service.

(7) Matt 7. 12; Luke 6. 31. The Golden Rule. Matthew bases it on the ground of God's acts toward us. Luke makes it more a summary of the requirement of love than a rule, basing it on human sentiment. Since we desire to be loved, we should show love to others.

(8) Matt 7. 13f. is to be contrasted with Luke 13. 24ff. Matthew deals with scenes of garden and field, Luke with city streets and houses. In Matthew the narrowness of the gate is a reason why some will miss it unless great care is exercised. In Luke the narrowness of the door falls almost out of consideration, for here the real danger is lest the door be shut. Yet the preservation of just the term "narrow" is a literary mark of the common origin of the passages in the two Gospels.

(9) Matt 7. 24ff.; Luke 6. 47ff. The man who built a house. They have a common source upon which Matthew has made more changes, giving greater intensity and vividness to the treatment. Matthew throws the tense into the future. With him the epithets "wise" and "foolish" are applied at the start. The flood or stream becomes "floods," reenforced by wind and rain. The "earth" of Luke becomes "sand."

For those who hold to a distinctive Sermon on the Mount as reported by Matthew and Luke there remain several obvious questions. First, what was the original core? Some would select from Matthew a part of the beatitudes, also Matt 5. 18f.; 25f.; 31f., which describe the old and the new ideal of righteousness, with Matt 7. 24-27 as a closing section. Others would add various teachings from chs. 6 and 7. Most of the remaining teaching, as suggested by Luke's connections and its own differing spirit, would be from other discourses of Jesus.

Next is the question as to the theme of the Sermon on the Mount. This would be answered variously. Perhaps

most would say that it is indicated in the Beatitudes. The Ideal Life, the New Righteousness have also been suggested.

As to the total impression gained from the teaching of Jesus in such a collection as the Sermon, we note that Jesus gave popularly intelligible illustrations of the spirit that prevails in his kingdom. He does not consider in detail all the abuses needing reform, nor does he list all the virtues. He seeks, as in all his teaching, to introduce and recommend concretely the spirit of the new life which, if positively possessed, will, by displacement of evil, work the salvation of an individual or of society. He fulfills the best in the old and perfects it. His words are not so much rules to follow as observations of the great interpreter. A beatitude, for instance, shows the necessary connection between character and result. Such words are statements of moral facts rather than attempts at legislation.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. How would you characterize the form and the spirit of Jesus's teaching as seen in the synoptics?
2. Where and on what occasions was Jesus apt to teach? What of his manner and the length of his discourses?
3. What was the language of Jesus and to what group of languages did it belong?
4. Compare the accounts in Matthew and Luke of the Sermon on the Mount.
5. Which are the most important likenesses and differences in the two accounts?
6. Make a thorough comparison of the two sets of Beatitudes.
7. Locate and read in the new context certain passages which Matthew has in the Sermon but Luke has outside his account of the Sermon.
8. Illustrate ways in which Luke's historical sense served him in making connections for passages.
9. Construct what you think the original core of the Sermon may have been.
10. Try stating appropriate themes for the Sermon in Matthew; in Luke.
11. Make a compact outline of the Sermon according to Matthew.
12. What would be the main topics in Matthew's account?

13. Make a brief outline of Luke's account of the Sermon. Can it be conformed to Matthew's outline?
14. Summarize and estimate the quality and characteristics of Jesus's teaching.
15. Which Gospel appeals to you as the most satisfactory? Why?

CHAPTER VII

THE FOURTH GOSPEL

1. THE following sketch of the contents of the Gospel will reveal somewhat of its plan and outline.

The Introduction, 1. 1-18, is a mystical and somewhat philosophical treatise on the functions of the eternal Word of God now manifest in Jesus Christ.

Witness to Jesus Christ by John the Baptist, 1. 19-36.

The First Disciples, 1. 37-51.

In Galilee, 2. 1-12; Miracle at Cana; Visit to Capernaum.

To Jerusalem, 2. 13 to 3. 36; Purifying the temple; Nicodemus; Baptizing; John the Baptist's testimony.

To Galilee (through Samaria), 4. 1-54; Woman at the well in Samaria; Galilæans receive Jesus; Nobleman's son (Capernaum).

To Jerusalem, 5. 1-47. The cripple at the Pool of Bethesda; Discourses; Sabbath-keeping; Life from the Dead; The testimony of Scriptures.

To Galilee, 6. 1 to 7. 9, Feeding the Multitude; Walking on the Sea; Discourses on the Bread of Heaven; Certain Disciples Desert Him; Hostility of Jews.

To Jerusalem, 7. 10 to 10. 39. Feast of Tabernacles; Disputes with Enemies; (The Writing on the Ground); Light of the World; Disputes with Enemies; Blind Man (at Siloam); Disputes with Enemies; Good Shepherd; Disputes with Enemies; Feast of Dedication.

Beyond . . . the Jordan, 10. 40, 41.

Back . . . to Judæa, 11. 1 to 11. 53. Lazarus; Hostility of Jewish Council.

To Ephraim, 11. 54.

To Bethany and Jerusalem, 12 to 20. Anointing by Mary; Sought by Gentiles; The Approving Voice from Heaven; Judgment and Light; Last Supper, 13; Last Discourses, 14, 15, 16; Prayer, 17; Betrayal and Inquisition, 18; Torture, Crucifixion and Burial, 19; Resurrection, 20.

Appendices, 21. Appearances of Jesus, 21. 1-23; Certification and Conclusion, 21. 24f.

The book seems to have an appropriate ending, with the last verse of ch. 20. The author stated there his purpose in writing the book. Even ch. 21 has three good closing verses—23, 24, or 25. Verse 24 is the testimony of a person writing later than the author.

2. The literary style of the fourth Gospel combines Hebrew and Greek characteristics. The Hebraisms are felt in the succession of clauses and sentences held together by the simplest conjunctions, most often by "and," also in the tendency to parallel structure and in the use of such phrases as "son of perdition" and "rejoice with joy," where we should use adjectives and adverbs. The Greek influence is felt not only in the comparative ease with which the Greek language is used, but also in a certain abstract, philosophical quality imparted to the discussion of the themes of the book.

There is a good deal of dialogue and considerable allegory.

The introduction is vigorous, dignified, and clear, and is in especially good though simple Greek. It gives the pre-suppositions of the author's thought and the point of view in the development of the book.

The author has made careful selection of his material and masses it with telling effect. His portrayal of the life of Jesus is along the lines of a grand contest between truth and error, light and darkness, between Jesus Christ and his enemies. The book has much of the spirit of a debate. The style is therefore antithetical. It is warmly in sympathy with its subject, vivid in descriptive power. Notice, for example, the story of the woman at the well in Samaria, and elsewhere many living touches of custom, place, and allusion.

In spite of its appearance of involved discussion there is a definiteness and straightforwardness about the treatment that never lets the writer lose himself or his point before reaching his own declaration of his guiding purpose in

20. 31. The style is, however, that of the subjective interpreter rather than of the objective historian.

3. The quality of the thought of the fourth Gospel is strongly theological, not to say philosophical. It grasps its conceptions under the forms of impressive symbols and is controlled by the purpose of proving certain truths about Jesus Christ which will lead to definite belief in him. This central personality of the book is conceived as an eternal Being who is identified with the world-principle called the Word which was in the beginning with God and by which all things have been made. First he existed before his earthly career, for he was in the beginning with God. Second, he became flesh and dwelt among us. Third, he survived death and is represented among his disciples by his Spirit, who reveals the things of the Christ to believers. The main body of the Gospel consists of the explanations and proofs that Jesus Christ is this Being, the eternal Word, and of the contests of the Christ with the opposition. John the Baptist testified that Jesus was the Christ, and Jesus himself by action and discussion makes the claim continuously from the beginning of the book.

4. The contrasts between the fourth Gospel and the synoptics will be very apparent upon a comparison of the style and thought. The fourth Gospel has a different outline for the life of Jesus Christ, and treats of but a comparatively few points in common with the synoptics. The subjective quality of the fourth is in contrast with the objective nature of the first three Gospels. In the synoptics, as in the Old Testament, the narratives provide us with word pictures, graphically and simply put, while the discourses remind us of the style of the Wisdom writers. In the latest Gospel the style is more subtle and reasoned, reminding us of theological discussion, while the narratives are made to serve the doctrinal points.

One notable instance of the differing order of the life of Jesus is the purification of the temple from the mer-

cenary occupants of its precincts. This is one of the few parallels in all four Gospels (John 2. 13-22; Mark 11. 15-18; Matt 21. 12-17; Luke 19. 45-48). It was clearly one of those self-declarative acts of authority comporting with the Messianic role. In John the incident is placed early in the outline of the "Life," coming in the second chapter of the Gospel, while in the others, following Mark's outline, the same incident is put comparatively late. Thus John represents Jesus as being at Jerusalem early in his career, while the other three Gospels make it seem that the Judæan ministry came late as the climax of the "Life" and before that they lay stronger emphasis on the Galilæan ministry.

The manner of Jesus' speaking, the words and substance of his discourses are more probably preserved in the synoptic Gospels than in John. In the synoptics Jesus is represented as loth to permit the application to himself of the current Jewish Messianic ideas. The temptations seemed to bring near to him just those popular worldly notions of Messiahship which were so repugnant to his spirit. If he accepted the Messianic role, it was only late in his ministry, when he had assured his disciples of the spiritual and utterly unworldly manner in which he would permit such a designation. His interest was in doing good to the people by deed and word and pointing them to the heavenly Father, whose will was their government and whose grace was their providence. In short, telling phrases, reminding one of the teachers of the Wisdom school, he summoned the obedient to citizenship in the heavenly kingdom. But in John he claimed to be the Messiah from the very beginning of his ministry. The elaborate and subtle discourses pointed people to himself, the life and the light of the world. He is the vine that holds the branches. He is the water of life. He is the center of a mystical union through which we come into our relationship with the Father.

It is easy to see how the ideas of the fourth Gospel made necessary a different statement of certain elements in the synoptics. The call of the Son as emphasized by Mark (1. 9-11) would not be appropriate for one who was the preexistent principle of salvation. The voice of approbation at the baptism becomes in John (1. 31-33) a word certifying the Christ to the Baptist. John the Baptist is thereafter in no uncertainty about Jesus, as in the synoptics (Matt 11. 2, 3; Luke 7. 19). Of course, the fourth Gospel would have no occasion for genealogies, or accounts of the birth, infancy, and the temptations.

A question often raised concerning this book is whether any historical traditions have been preserved in it which correct or supplement the synoptic accounts. Many would maintain that the suggestion in John of a longer time for the ministry of Jesus helps to correct the synoptic tradition. It is also claimed that the date of the crucifixion is more accurately given by the fourth Gospel, which assigns it to the day of the passover sacrifice.

The purpose of the author appears to be plainly stated in 20. 31: "These are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye may have life in his name." The question may be asked, Did not the author think that this purpose was served by the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke? The truth is that the Gospel of John is a more adequate expression of what Christianity meant to the early church of the Greek world.

6. A discussion of the date and place of origin will bear on the above question. The fourth Gospel was written evidently in a world where there was intellectual opposition to Christianity. The book breathes the spirit of contest. The situation is in the Greek world. Although the opponents are named as Jews, yet the method employed betrays an opposition that was familiar with Hellenistic modes of thought. We may arrange the New Testa-

ment writings in an order that will show the widening scope of the answer of Christianity to its opponents, Jewish and otherwise. For example, we can readily see how Paul argued his way with his more Jewish background and training. We can study a later phase of the contest in the epistle to the Hebrews, which is dependent on Paul, but uses a more Hellenistic equipment in meeting the attack of its opponents. In John we have a still later response to the challenge of the world's hostility and it is dependent on both Paul and the author of Hebrews.

It is usually believed that John was written in the region of Ephesus in Asia Minor. There, where Paul had labored so fruitfully, and where Christianity must have been familiar with Greek culture and have adopted certain elements of it, about 100 A. D., it is believed this book was published. The author would not find the first three Gospels a complete presentation of the subject of Jesus Christ and belief in him. Cultured Jews and others in that Greco-Roman world, whose outlook upon life and its problems was more philosophical, would best be reached by such a Gospel as the fourth.

7. So far as we now know, this Gospel was first attributed to John the apostle about 180 A. D. by Theophilus of Antioch. It became the traditional opinion that the book was the work of the apostle in his old age, when residing at Ephesus. The opinion was sustained by the Jewish elements, the vividness and detail of narration in some parts, and the passages which seemed to point to John, as 19. 35; 13. 23f.; 21. 7, 20, 24. Many still hold to the Johannine authorship of the book. This position has been questioned because of the abstract character of Jesus's discourses, so different from his simple, practical teaching in the synoptics; the differences of fact from the synoptics; and the unique interpretation of the person of Christ. The book has even been regarded as a second-century idealization of Christ. The problem is yet unsettled. Many scholars

take a mediating position. Whatever the ultimate solution, all students must agree that the Gospel contains genuine Johannine data. The religious value of the book does not depend on its authorship, but on its spiritual perception of great Christian truths. When we consider the literary excellence and the spiritual insight of this Gospel, we are prepared to appreciate its eminent position in Christian thought.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. See the outline. How many times was Jesus at Jerusalem according to John?
2. What is the literary style of the book?
3. What is the kind of thought?
4. Trace a unifying idea running through the book and illustrate from passages selected.
5. Illustrate from selected passages the subjective, philosophical quality of the work.
6. State the contrasts with the synoptics in thought, order, style; in the impression gained of the manner and consciousness of Jesus.
7. How does the author's purpose explain the contrasts of question 6?
8. Discuss the improved historical data to be found in John as compared with the synoptics.
9. How can the date and place of origin be determined?
10. Where in John is the first quotation from Jesus? Whose position has been represented by what has preceded?
11. Read I. 1-18 and paraphrase in order to show its ideas. How does it serve to introduce the Gospel? Compare its service in this respect with the introductions, genealogies, etc., of the other Gospels.
12. Read 6. 35-65. What is Jesus's teaching about himself?
13. Read 12. 36-50. What was the result of the public work of Jesus?
14. Read 20. 26-31. How do vv. 26-29 agree with the purpose as given in vv. 30, 31?
15. What is the purpose of the appendix, ch. 21?

CHAPTER VIII

ACTS

1. THE Structure of the Book. It is composed of material from different sources so arranged as to illustrate the expansion of Christianity (compare 1. 8) :

I. The life and activities of the apostles and their companions in and about Jerusalem (1 to 8. 1a).

II. The expansion of Christianity throughout Judæa and Samaria (8. 1b to 11. 18).

III. The expansion in the regions immediately about Palestine, to Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Antioch, etc. (11. 19 to 12. 25).

IV. Paul's journeys, including three missionary tours; his arrest at Jerusalem and appeal to Rome (13 to 28).

2. The Sources. The author of Acts used three groups of source material which may be mentioned in the order of their importance rather than in the order in which they appear in the book:

I. From the literary point of view, the most notable parts of the book are certain extracts from a record of travels which are incorporated in the descriptions of Paul's journeys. These embedded passages are in the first person plural ("we"), and for that reason are often referred to as the "we sections." They are found in 16. 10-17; 20. 5-15; 21. 1-18; 27. 1 to 28. 16. These very valuable passages are often considered as the work of the author of the book, who took them from his own diary, he being generally thought of as Luke, who wrote the Gospel to which he refers in 1. 1.

II. The same writer has assembled much material concerning the activities of Paul, which makes a second great body of data in Acts. Most of this is found from ch. 13 on.

III. More remote from the author was a third group of source-materials, used largely in the first twelve chapters of Acts. Luke may have secured these data from oral or written sources. A good opportunity was afforded him when he went with Paul to Pal-

estine, though he would not, necessarily, have to wait until such a journey. The important fact is that Luke knew of the subjects of the first part of the book less directly than of those treated later in the book.

One of the interesting results of a study of the sources is the comparison of parallel accounts of the same event. Acts 9. 7, from Luke's source III, may be compared with 22. 9 and with 26. 12-18, which are from his source II. There is a plain variation which was never harmonized by the author. Other duplicates, not all of them from differing sources, however, may be found. Compare 9. 26-30 with 22. 17-21; 10. 44 with 11. 15; 21. 20-26 with 24. 17f.; 25. 9-11 with 28. 18f., etc.

3. The Historical Picture of the Early Church according to Acts. During the lifetime of Jesus the disciples may have believed that he would become a kingly deliverer, according to their Messianic hope. The death of Jesus was at first a great stumbling-block, but it became also the starting-point of reflection, and hence of Christian doctrine. At the beginning the death of Jesus was chiefly viewed as the result of a crime (Acts 2. 22f.; 3. 13-15). But God had defeated the criminals by raising Jesus (Acts 2. 24; 3. 15). The resurrection showed that Jesus was the Messiah (Acts 2. 25-32; see Luke 24. 19ff.); but still the disciples failed to grasp the deeper moral significance of Jesus and held to the Messianic, apocalyptic program. They believed he would return (Acts 1. 10f.), and at first they were disposed to do little until he came. Then there developed the idea that they were to witness for him until he should come. Peter appeared as the chief witness to the fact that Jesus was the Lord's anointed (*Christos*) and the title "Christ" was affixed to the name "Jesus," making a new name, "Jesus Christ," which was thereafter commonly used of him. The witnesses declared the proofs that Jesus was the Messiah, and attested the fact by signs and miracles.

Not until they were forced by practical necessity did the early Christians look after the administration of the business of the early society by appointing stewards. Their first plans for these matters fell to pieces or were modified as the expected return of Christ was delayed. But a wider and more spiritual grasp of Christianity was soon possible. It is significant that one of the stewards of the community was perhaps the earliest to preach a gospel that was interpreted as being against Moses and God, which probably means that Stephen spoke against the prevailing Messianic notions about Jesus and the servile following of the traditional religion.

The second half of the book may be described as the Pauline epic, in which the heroic adventures of the great apostle are told.

The impressions gained from Acts contrast sometimes with the accounts derived from Paul's letters. We find no trace in Acts of the misunderstandings between Paul and the churches in Galatia and Corinth. Traces of sharp contention in which Paul treated his foes summarily are found in the letters to Galatia and Corinth, but they are either unknown to the author of Acts or are omitted. (See Gal 4. 17; 5. 7, 10, 12; 2 Cor 10. 14f.; 11. 13-15, 18, 23; also compare Acts 9. 26-30 with Gal 1. 17-24; 15. 1-33 with Gal 2. 1-10; 15. 35-39 with Gal 2. 11f.)

4. What was Luke's purpose? Perhaps to show the providential origin and progress of the religion of Jesus Christ. Acts 1. 8 is often taken as the key to the author's outline and purpose, "witnesses both in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa and Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." Acts 4. 32a, "one heart and soul," has sometimes been pointed out as a motto for the book and as reflecting the author's purpose to write a history that would emphasize the unity of the church.

Others believe that this book was written as a representation of Christianity to the Roman world, and that the

author purposely avoided any cause of offense. Certainly, the picture of Paul, the Roman citizen, is skillfully drawn, and no condemnation of Christians by the Roman government is allowed to darken the narrative.

5. The date must be later than that of the Gospel, but probably not much later. Acts i. 1 refers to the Gospel as "the former treatise." The mere fact that Paul's death is not recorded would not count in determining the date, as it is apparently part of the writer's purpose to spare any mention that would reflect on the attitude of the Roman government to Christianity.

6. Luke had the clearest idea of a literary and historical task of any writer in the New Testament. His dedication, introduction, plan, and spirit of composition are very like the contemporaneous Greek and Roman authors. Luke and Acts may have been more widely circulated among cultured readers than other New Testament writings, since this author, according to the custom of the day, addressed his works to a patron, Theophilus, presumably a wealthy and influential man, and it was the expectation that such patrons would become responsible for the proper distribution of the books.

Certainly, our author exhibited a calm and irenic manner and in both his works made a strong appeal to the reading world in favor of his church.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. What are the main points in the outline of Acts?
2. Where did the writer get his data? How did it differ?
3. What was the subject of Luke's least-known source? In which part of the book is it found?
4. What early Christian ideas are preserved in Acts?
5. Sketch the lines of early church development from the book.
6. What purpose led the author to write the work?
7. How do Luke and Acts compare with other New Testament books in literary plan and execution?
8. Read the speeches in Acts attributed to Peter, Stephen, and

Paul, and give your estimate of the author's skill in keeping to the characteristic differences represented by those three persons.

9. Analyze Stephen's defense in ch. 7. Give the outline and course of thought.
10. In chs. 1 to 10 how does the writer show that the expansion of the church from Jerusalem into the Gentile world was under divine guidance?
11. Look through the "we sections" and find what parts of Paul's journeys they cover.
12. Read ch. 27, noting the vividness of personal recollection.

CHAPTER IX

THE PAULINE LETTERS

EARLIEST of the writings in the New Testament were the Pauline letters. They are not to be called books in the literary sense as are the Gospels, for instance, or such a writing as Hebrews. They are indeed letters and can best be appreciated when one recognizes this fact. To call them genuine letters is the same as saying that they are the spontaneous outflowing of the apostle's mingled thought and feeling responding to a situation full of emergencies and of insistent claims on his attention. In these letters Paul struck out at a real situation which caused him to feel intensely and to speak vigorously. We may picture him with a secretary sitting near while the great man spoke the contents of the letter to be taken down.

Paul was a breaker of new roads, an explorer, the first typical missionary of Christianity. He stirred up many difficult problems for which precedents were rarely to be had. He was often misunderstood; he was greatly hated as well as greatly loved. He was a positive personality and filled the spiritual atmosphere with electric currents of discussion. No church that he founded may have been able to grasp Paul's ideas and their implications without further aid from the very original mind that had so greatly stimulated their religious and ethical zeal.

If, then, we recognize clearly that these were letters that Paul wrote and not treatises or books, and, further, that several of them were written at white heat and all of them in intense earnestness, we shall find more truly their real

contents and spare ourselves the discovery of things that were never there.

It is common to reckon the Pauline letters as numbering thirteen, and to date them somewhere between 50 and 70 A. D. More precise dates and variants from these may be discussed properly as each letter is studied. There may be hints here or there of lost letters of Paul.

As to authorship, in general there is practically no dispute that we need to consider concerning Galatians, Romans and First and Second Corinthians and also Philemon and Philippians. There is variant opinion touching First and Second Thessalonians, considerably more diversity of opinion regarding Ephesians and Colossians, and even more touching Titus and First and Second Timothy, at least in their present form. But these questions too may be more precisely dealt with in the case of each letter as we read it.

As to style in general, First and Second Thessalonians are the simplest in form, Galatians the most impetuous and fiery, Romans the most elaborate, and Ephesians and Colossians the most involved and difficult in rhetorical structure.

As already suggested, all these letters were probably dictated, except, possibly, Philemon and a small part of Galatians, Gal 6. 11ff. Paul usually authenticated his letters by adding a few words with his own hand. See 2 Thess 3. 17; 1 Cor 16. 21-24; Col 4. 18. Nine of the thirteen were to churches and four to men, though Philemon is the only private letter.

A common division of the letters is that which divides them in order as follows:

Practical group	{	1 Thessalonians
	{	2 Thessalonians
	{	Galatians
Doctrinal group	{	Romans
	{	1 Corinthians
	{	2 Corinthians

Prison group	{	Philemon Colossians Ephesians Philippians
Pastoral group	{	1 Timothy 2 Timothy Titus

It is easy to criticize this classification, since others besides the first two are exceedingly practical in parts, though not nearly as exclusively so as the Thessalonian letters, which are simple and contain little doctrine, and that chiefly about one matter—the second coming of Christ. Others besides the second group are doctrinal; for instance, Ephesians and Colossians. Of course the designation “Prison Epistles” is not a qualitative classification, but it serves well to distinguish the four which are meant, though those four are the least like each other of the members of any group. Pastoral is a fair indication of the contents of the fourth group which deal with parish administration.

A common system of dating these groups is the following:

- I. Practical, 53 A. D.
- II. Doctrinal, 56-8 A. D.
- III. Prison, 62-3 A. D.
- IV. Pastoral, $\pm$ 65 A. D.

The main disagreements with these rough dates would be in the case of those who would make Galatians the first of the letters of Paul and date it nearer 50 A. D., and of those who dispute the Pauline authorship of Ephesians and Colossians and the Pastorals and date them considerably later.

We need a little historic and personal background for the study of these letters. Paul's conversion was probably not far from 35 A. D. He had been born in Asia Minor (Tarsus) and educated in the city of Jerusalem. He was a rare combination of a great mystic and a very practical

man. Throughout life he thought about many things in the fashion of a carefully trained Jew. The great revolution in his life and thought was on the point as to how a man becomes truly pleasing to God, that is, becomes righteous. Before he became a Christian he thought that the goal of righteousness must be reached by the punctilious keeping of every requirement of the Mosaic law. After his conversion he believed that it was attained by the renewing power of the Spirit of God which entered the personality and helped it to live a new life. This saving Spirit he believed to be the same as the ascended, eternal Christ whom God had raised from the dead and by whom God was raising every believer to spiritual life from sinful deadness. This experience and belief of Paul became the core of his preaching and was considered by many a dangerously liberal doctrine. Hebrew Christians frequently became Paul's bitter enemies, because they thought that he cut away the foundations of real religion, while Paul contended that he really established the only possible, practical religion.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. How much earlier than the Gospels were Paul's letters written?
2. Explain fully the differences between these letters and books.
3. What better revelation of personalities and events may come to us through books and in what respects are books better?
4. Find the positions of several modern writers with respect to the dates of the Pauline letters.
5. Concerning which letters is there least dispute as to authorship? Concerning which is there most question?
6. In which letters is there evidence of Paul's own handwriting?
7. Write on the topic, "Letter-writing in the Greco-Roman World."
8. Make a summary of the Life and Missionary Journeys of Paul.

CHAPTER X

THESSALONIANS

THESSALONICA (now Saloniki), a city of Macedonia, is situated on one of the bays of the Ægean Sea. Paul reached the place during his second missionary tour (Acts 17. 1ff.) in company with Silas and Timothy. They went to the Jewish synagogue, where the teaching of Paul led to a division among the worshippers. After a few weeks Paul and his disciples were forced to leave the synagogue, and they formed a separate society with whom Paul remained some time (Phil 4. 16; 1 Thess 2. 9; 2. Thess 3. 8). The quarrel between the synagogue and the church resulted in riots, which disturbed the peace of the city until it seemed wise to the Christians to send Paul and Silas away secretly to continue their missionary tour to Berea, Athens, and Corinth.

While a number of Jews became members of the new society in Thessalonica, the majority was probably Greek. Severe persecution continued against the Christians, but they were very firm, and it was a cause of much satisfaction to Paul to hear of the loyalty and steadfastness of the little church at Thessalonica.

In chs. 1, 2, and 3 of 1 Thess Paul poured out mingled gratification and reminiscence. They offer a good example of his methods in founding a new church and of the warmth of affection in which he held his converts.

Chapters 4 and 5 deal with miscellaneous subjects—morality, mutual consideration, industry, the second coming of the Lord, and disciplinary suggestions for the fellowship.

Perhaps the matter of keenest concern to his readers—it has certainly been so to modern students who have often seen in it the occasion for the letter—was the passage 4. 13 to 5. 11. This divides into two parts. The first seems to be an answer to the distress of mind which the Thessalonians suffered concerning certain of those who had died since the founding of the society. Evidently, the Thessalonians had gathered from Paul's preaching that the Advent of the Lord might be expected soon and had not calculated with death as a possibility before the "Coming." They were at a loss to know how to interpret the death of loved ones, and may have thought that such events signified the displeasure of heaven toward the deceased and their exclusion from the redemption that was coming. Paul reassured those anxious friends, telling them that the deceased, so far from being disqualified for the Great Day, would be raised to life at that time and would precede the living saints in the assembly that would greet the Lord (4. 13-18).

Chapter 5. 1-11 proceeds to exhort the Thessalonians to be ready at all times by exemplary life and discipline, lest the second coming should take them by surprise and there be sudden loss, as when a thief surprises a household in the night.

The traditional view of the occasion of the second letter to the Thessalonians is that Paul's first letter had been misunderstood in its treatment of the second coming of Christ. Perhaps a fanatical enthusiasm had seized upon such a passage as 1 Thess 5. 2 and confusion had resulted in which no distinction was made between the near coming of the Lord and the unexpectedness or suddenness of the coming.

In 2 Thess 2 and 3 warning is given that much must necessarily precede the Advent of the Lord, and that there must be no disorder or idleness meanwhile.

The second letter is much shorter than the first, but the

outline and contents are strikingly similar. Note the following comparison:

FIRST THESSALONIANS		SECOND THESSALONIANS
1. 1	Greeting	1. 1, 2
1. 2-10	Praise of Thessalonians	1. 3, 4
2. 1-13	Reminiscence	(compare 1. 10c.)
2. 14-16	Reflections on Persecutors	1: 5-12
2. 17 to 3. 13	Main Theme	2. 1-16
4. 1 to 5. 22	Second Part of Letter	3. 1-15
5. 23-28	Closing	3. 16, 17

The substantial contrasts in the outlines above are to be found in the main theme and in the second part of each epistle.

These two letters are simple, straightforward, affectionate letters of commendation and warning. So far as there is any theological doctrine included, it is that brought out by the emergency of the people's persecutions and fears. In keeping with this fact is the strong apocalyptic element in the letters. Otherwise the teaching is purely ethical and monitory.

Critical opinion has rarely been opposed to the Pauline authorship of First Thessalonians. The letter seems thoroughly appropriate to the situation described in Acts and reflected in its own allusions. To be sure, 2. 16 has been made by certain to refer to the downfall of Jerusalem in 70 A. D., but better criticism seems to make it reasonable that Paul himself makes the reference and therefore that it cannot be to that late event. Others have treated it as an interpolation.

More doubt has been expressed concerning the authenticity of Second Thessalonians. It seems to some obviously modeled on First Thessalonians and much later in general tone. Still other critics have placed its date before First Thessalonians. It has been claimed that its references are too specifically Jewish to be addressed to a congregation dominantly Greek, but answer has been made that the He-

brew portion of the church at Thessalonica was probably large enough to warrant special attention.

We date the letters about 53 A. D. and retain the customary order for them.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Read the story in Acts of Paul's experiences at Thessalonica.
2. How do these letters illustrate the bond between Paul and his converts?
3. Read First Thessalonians, noting (*a*) the information about the church, its good points and bad, (*b*) about Paul, (*c*) his advice to the Thessalonians.
4. In 1 Thess 4. 13-18 what is the problem? What was Paul's solution? What was his expectation as to the time of Christ's coming?
5. Read 2 Thess 2. 1-12 and write out a statement of Paul's expectation for the future.
6. Questions of date and place of origin.

CHAPTER XI

LETTER TO THE GALATIANS

1. THERE still exists a difference of opinion as to the location of the churches addressed in this letter. The difficulty is to determine the usage of the term "Galatia" in Acts and in Paul's letters. Anciently there was a region in the northern part of Asia Minor known as the kingdom of the Gauls, or Galatia. The cities Ancyra, Tavium, and Pessinus were in it. Later when the Roman government formed the province of Galatia it embraced not only the country of Galatia but other territory extending to the southern part of Asia Minor, and included, in addition to the above named, Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, Derbe, and Lystra. This group of cities is mentioned in chs. 13 and 14 of Acts, which describes Paul's first known missionary tour. Christian societies were probably formed in them, and Acts 16. 1-5 tells of Paul's return to the region to instruct and strengthen the converts. Acts 16. 6 and 18. 23 are the only verses in the New Testament that might suggest activities of Paul in the northern part of the province where the old country of Galatia was situated. It would appear from 18. 23 that he found Christians there to be helped. These may have been the result of religious ministry at the time of Acts 16. 6, though the impression would be that that was a rapid passage through some portion of the country, and that he may not have tarried to speak his message. Whether the journey touched any of the cities, Ancyra, Tavium, and Pessinus, we have no means of knowing. The holders of the North-Galatian theory of the destination of Paul's letter to the Galatians claim that Acts 16. 6 refers to the time when Paul founded societies in the northern cities, and that Acts 18. 23 refers to the time when he revisited and strengthened them.

The holders of the South-Galatian theory of the destination maintain that the churches referred to in Galatians are Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, Derbe, and Lystra, etc., where Christianity was founded as described so circumstantially in Acts 13 and 14.

Fortunately, this uncertainty as to the exact location of the persons addressed by the apostle does not prevent the successful interpretation of the letter, since the state of mind of both the readers and the sender is so clearly discernible.

2. The uncertainty as to the location of the Galatia referred to lessens the certainty as to the date and place of writing the letter. For if the South Galatian theory is accepted, the Galatian churches were founded during Paul's first missionary journey, but if the North-Galatian theory, during his second. We may say tentatively that Paul may have written it from Corinth about 57 A. D. Certain scholars, however, put its date much nearer 50 A. D., and hold that it was the first letter of Paul. For this a strong argument can be made.

3. The occasion for the letter is described within it. Paul, who had the first right to reverence and a following among these churches which he had founded, was being attacked in his absence by interlopers who maligned him and his motives. It would seem from the letter that these enemies were more Jewish than Christian in their sympathies and that they had come from outside, perhaps from Judæa, on purpose to undo what they considered Paul's faulty and insufficient gospel. Their method was first to destroy confidence in Paul's right to teach as a Christian apostle, and, second, to indoctrinate the converts in the traditions and ritual of the Jews as a prerequisite to Christianity. In brief, while Paul preached the possibility of direct access to God and a religious life by trusting in Jesus Christ, his opponents preached that only in conformity to Jewish law and ritual could anyone be a child of God. It was a contest between

the religion of the Spirit and of simple faith on the one hand and a religion of ritual and of law on the other. Paul felt that the two positions were irreconcilable and threw himself into the crisis with great intensity.

Acts 15. 1 to 16. 5 may be compared with Gal 1 and 2 to see the contrasting impressions given of Paul's agreement with the methods and spirit of the older Christians at Jerusalem.

4. The letter may be divided into three main sections, as follows:

- I. 1. 1 to 2. 21. Personal: The defense of his apostleship.
- II. 3. 1 to 5. 12. Polemical: The explanation of his teaching.
- III. 5. 13 to 6. 18. Practical: The application of his teaching to life.

In Section I, Paul with his companions saluted the Galatian congregations in the grace and peace of the heavenly Father and of the Messianic Lord. Paul was astounded by the threatened apostasy of the Galatians. With sharp, decisive statements he leveled the pretensions of any other gospel. He vigorously defended his own apostleship against the Judaizers who questioned it. His gospel was no tradition but a revelation from Jesus Christ. Paul the one time ravager of Christian churches had, in the purpose of God, become a missionary of the faith he had formerly persecuted. In pursuance of the heavenly commission, Paul preached the faith unaided by any promptings from the other apostles. Those apostles had recognized his authority as Christ's representative to the non-Jewish world. With dignity and justice (2. 11-21) Paul withstood the vacillating policy of Cephas (Peter) and other Christians in a memorable dispute at Antioch in Syria on the question of fellowship between Jewish and non-Jewish Christians. The issue involved was larger than it seemed at first. The real question bore upon the relative merits of Jesus Christ and of Jewish legalism as methods of obtaining righteousness and salvation.

In Section II, Paul told his readers that it was only the dullest folly that would choose the fruitless humdrum of the Mosaic law instead of the Christ, as if one should surrender the spiritual for the dead. From the time of Abraham, it was now clear, faith had been the real way of salvation even among the Hebrews. The Jewish law had been a temporary expedient. It was as a hand pointing the discouraged to Jesus Christ.

In 4. 1-7 Paul used two figures to explain why the merely provisional nature of the law had not been grasped before. First, he says, people were as minors, not yet of age, and, secondly, people were as aliens, who were to become sons only upon adoption. The proof of present sonship is the presence of the Spirit of God within us uttering "Father." In 4. 8-12 it is shown that as idolaters the Galatians might be excused, but not since the light had come. He exhorted them to stand firm with him in Christ. In 4. 21-31 Paul illustrated by an allegory the mutually exclusive nature of Christ and the law by the contrasts—

free child and slave.
 Sarah and Hagar.
 Jerusalem above and Sinai-Jerusalem.
 Spirit (promise) and flesh.
 heir and outcast.

In 5. 1-12 is revealed that to come under the system of legalism is to nullify the effect of Christ upon us. In Christ only is there possibility of righteousness. Circumcision (ritual performance) is not the way. Christianity is to be sought in another way. It consists of that vital experience which we call faith and is evidenced by love. This was understood by the Galatians once, and Paul said that he did not believe that they were really now of a different mind.

In Section III Paul reminded his readers that they had been called into a new life of freedom, but that liberty must not be allowed to become license. The one defense against sensuality is spirituality. Those who are in earnest for the

latter cannot temporize with the former. Be humble and tender in helping those of weak morals. Take their burden on yourselves, and, yet, responsibility is ultimately on the individual. In 6. 6ff. they were told to be generous, unwearying, benevolent, assured that cause is sure to produce its effect. Chapter 6. 11ff. shows that those who tried to proselyte the Galatian Christians would not bear very close scrutiny either as to accomplishments or motives. They wished a chance to exult over the Galatians, but when the apostle gloried it was in the cross of Jesus Christ his Lord which separated forever between the superficial worldly regime and himself. The real object is not to become satisfactory according to a ritual but to be regenerated. Blessed are those who see this.

5. The whole argument of the Galatian letter is to prove the sufficiency of faith for the Christian life and the certain disappointment in any other method or means. Christian faith, according to the Pauline teaching, actually unites the believer with Jesus Christ. It is the possession and outworking of the indwelling spirit of Christ. Paul explained the subject further in the letters to the Romans and Corinthians.

6. Two aspects of Paul's religion are indicated in Galatians. The letter shows his prophetic insight and fervor, which enabled him to speak words of great importance for the religious life of people in any age. It shows also his training in the learning and methods of the rabbis. Notable instances of this latter type are such passages as 3. 16 and 4. 22-31. The reader should distinguish the two elements in the letter.

7. The crucial importance of the Galatian controversy for the young religious fellowship of Christians can hardly be overestimated. Paul rightly felt that the questions involved were fundamental to the very life of the Christian societies which in many places were separating from the synagogues and in others were being formed from sheer

heathenism. The literary effect of Paul's emotion may be felt in the fiery intensity of the manner and style of the letter.

8. The style is rapid, argumentative, emotional. There is a rough, natural eloquence, with abrupt transitions and broken sequences as the fervent thought of the author hurtles through the mass of considerations and arguments. The style shows how very strongly Paul felt on the subjects treated and that the letter proceeded from him when he was at white heat.

9. The last eight verses (6. 11-18) form a postscript which the apostle presumably added in his own handwriting. It would almost seem that Paul wished to come into even closer contact with his audience and theme, and therefore intensified the points made in the main letter by this summary which also authenticated the whole letter as being truly from himself.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Where were the Galatian churches?
2. What is the North-Galatian theory and what the South-Galatian theory?
3. Date and place of origin of the letter?
4. What were Paul's reasons for writing the letter?
5. Who were Paul's enemies, and where, probably, did they come from?
6. Can you read between the lines of Paul's defense what it was that his enemies said about him?
7. Write out the course of the argument in chs. 1 and 2.
8. Paraphrase ch. 3.
9. What is the argument in 4. 21-31?
10. Read Galatians rapidly at a sitting.
11. In 5. 13-26 what is the basis for the moral life, of the Christian free from law? Is it a sufficient basis?
12. Cite instances in which Paul argued like a rabbi. Instances in which he spoke as an inspired prophet.
13. Why did not Paul think that both his and his opponent's principles could exist side by side?
14. Summarize the characteristics of Paul's style in Galatians.

CHAPTER XII

ROMANS

1. THIS letter is commonly considered Paul's masterpiece. It was sent to the Christians of the capital city of the world. As Paul had not then visited Rome, he had no special claim to a hearing from the Christians there. Therefore on the basis of brotherly comity alone he addressed himself to them, and his appeal is marked with greater deference than is the case in his other letters. Indeed, the entire letter is more deliberate, the mood calmer than in any other letter of Paul's that we possess. The style is expository. The arguments are probably not directed against specific persons or parties in Rome, but are the answer of Paul's experience and reasoning to such opposition in general as might conceivably arise wherever there were Jews or Christians. It is the most systematic presentation of Paul's teaching concerning the history of God's redemption of the world. The letter is therefore the most consistently theological of the list. In common with the other letters of the second group, the diction is terse and incisive and the movement of thought forceful and alert. It is essentially the method and style of debate, but in Romans this feature is peculiarly subordinated to the purposes of explanation. The discussion seems to reflect the contents of Paul's frequent debates on these subjects with Jewish opponents, for it often introduces matters not necessary to the statement of the main argument.

The letter addresses both the Hebrew-Christians, of whom there must have been many in Rome, and the Gentile Christians, who would also be numerous. The importance of the

church at Rome must have been recognizable early and would appeal to the imagination of so great a personality as Paul.

2. The occasion is clear. Paul sought to include Rome in the itinerary of his travels (I. 10-13; 15. 23, 24). His wide vision included many regions that he never reached and Rome was, to him, the logical center of the Gentile world. In publishing his testimony to the Roman Christians he would come the nearest possible, in a single letter, to letting the religious people at large know where he stood. Paul was probably at Corinth when he wrote the letter. It was in the course of his third missionary journey. He was planning to go to Jerusalem, after which he seems to have contemplated a longer journey than any yet undertaken. This would have taken him to Spain, and in the course of it he planned to visit the Christians at Rome (Rom 15. 23, 24). It would have needed but a short letter to make this announcement of the apostle's plans and to carry his greetings, but the way was beset with many difficulties. In any event, Paul wished to have a perfectly clear understanding with these Christians, which might serve as an introduction in case he should reach them, or as a testimony in case they should never greet each other personally. It was probably only a short time before that he had given the keynote of his message in the letter to the Galatian churches. The substance of that letter was now expanded and treated more systematically. A noble statement of his theme is given in Rom I. 16, 17: "The gospel, . . . the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."

3. The letter is in five main sections:

I. Introduction, I. 1-15.

II. Main Doctrinal Section, I. 16 to 8.

(1) Statement of his theme, I. 16-17, and its explication.

(a) His explanation of the theme includes the doctrine of human redemption, I. 18 to 5.

(b) His discussion of Christian experience, 6 to 8.

III. Secondary Doctrinal Section, 9 to 11.

His theory of God's dealings with the Jewish people.

IV. Practical applications and appeal, 12 to 15. 13.

V. Personal notes and conclusion, 15. 14 to 16. 27.

The contents may be summarized under these sections as follows:

I. Paul, the bondman of Jesus Christ, has often desired to visit the faithful in Rome for mutual encouragement.

II. Paul announces his theme and testifies to the gospel of a righteousness from God which comes forth in response to the faith of the believing one, whatever his race. All folly and corruption may be traced to the perversity of disobedience to God whose ways may be plainly understood. All doers of evil, even though they presume to judge others, will be punished. Doers of good will be rewarded impartially whether within the discipline of Jewish law or without where only the natural law of conscience obtains. There is much advantage in being a Jew (ch. 3), but it does not consist in the mere knowledge of a code which is, in practice, disobeyed. The practical conclusion is that Jews and Gentiles are guilty of sin. Neither the religion of the Jew nor of the Gentile has led its followers into harmony with God. Another way, open to both Jew and Gentile, is found in Jesus Christ. It is the way of faith. Abraham (ch. 4) used it with success. Effective righteousness is never found in any other way. Through trust in Jesus Christ we come into relationship with God (ch. 5), who fills our lives with love because of the presence of his Holy Spirit living in union with us. This great possibility was made known to us by means of the death of Jesus Christ. We are therefore dead to our old life as Christ died to his earthly career. (Ch. 6) We are now alive to a new blessed existence in union with God just as Christ by the resurrection is alive. Sin and ourselves should henceforth have no dealings. We have been made free to do right, not wrong. Until this experience was

ours we were each one a bundle of moral contradictions (ch. 7), slaves to sin, not free or able to do the things we saw to be right or might in our best choice desire. In the relationship with Jesus Christ we are free (ch. 8) and enabled to do all right things. We are to prove our new spiritual allegiance by the fruitage of good lives. The blessed results of the new filial relation of our spirits to God will extend eventually to our bodies, yea even to the whole physical world, which will cease to know pain. We shall become participants in all the resources of the divine nature.

III. Paul was sincerely distressed by the fate of his fellow Hebrews. He could even wish himself an outcast from Christ if thus he might help that race. Has God failed in their case or has he been unjust? No, but there has often been a seeming arbitrariness about the grace of God. But all who believe truly in God and call upon him for help are saved. This good news needs to be published, that all may hear. Ancient Israel heard this proclamation, but did not heed except in the case of a faithful minority, as in all ages. But Israel shall be saved finally.

IV. Paul then proceeded to practical applications and exhortations which are rich in ethical content and religious feeling. How ought this principle of harmony with God to affect our lives? (Rom 12) We are to offer ourselves unreservedly unto God who will complete the heavenly transformation of personality. We differ according to the gifts allotted to us by the Divine Spirit, but in the loving loyalty of our essential union in Christ we shall pursue only the good of all, even our enemies. (Ch. 13) We should believe in the control of Divine Providence, even as it works through governments, and discharge our debts, remembering that our greatest debt is to show forth Christlike love. We should live as in the light of some great change for the better. (Ch. 14) Consideration for the weaknesses and scruples of the weaker ones within the fellowship should be shown, and neither a spirit of censoriousness nor

of superiority should be manifested. The ethical crown of social teaching in Paul is found in Rom 15. 1-7. It is the summing up of what has been written in chs. 13 and 14 and is the counterpart of 1 Cor 13.

V. Criticism has often questioned whether portions of chs. 15 and 16 belong to the letter to the Romans. It has been thought that they may be fragments of other Pauline letters which have become attached to Romans in the manuscripts. The case is stronger against ch. 16 than ch. 15. The reason is this that, whereas Romans is a letter to a city which Paul had never seen, and the tone of a comparative stranger is kept up throughout the letter, yet after the writing has come to a full stop (see 15. 33), ch. 16 is suddenly flooded with names of Paul's personal friends and with most intimate greetings. Moreover, the names are usually Greek names. Epænetus was an Asian (16. 5); Prisca and Aquila seem to have been in Ephesus a short time before this letter was written (see 1 Cor 16. 9 and Acts 18. 18 and 26) and may have been there a short time after it was written (see 2 Tim 4. 19). Lastly, the tone of ch. 16 is more like a personal letter of greeting to one of Paul's own churches. This joined with all the preceding indications, would suggest that the chapter was a letter to the Ephesian church. It appears to be a letter of commendation introducing Phœbe, a deaconess of the church at Cenchreæ (16. 1f.). Chapter 16 may have closed formerly with v. 20, the vv. 21-27 being a supplement.

4. The same subject, the doctrine of justification by faith alone, is treated in Romans and Galatians, but the use made of the doctrine was somewhat different. In the Galatian letter Paul contended for the gospel of faith in Christ as against Judaizing Christians who denied the validity of his teaching on that point. In Romans he explained the same doctrine as against the system of Judaism itself. Romans was not written in the heat of contest and against specific dangers, as was the case with Galatians.

There was no cause in Romans for Paul to vindicate his apostleship as in Gal 1 and 2, for that had not been assailed, but, except for these contrasts, Romans is in the main an elaboration of the thought which was more briefly and impetuously disclosed in Galatians.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. What had been Paul's relations with the church at Rome? Was he not breaking his rule of noninterference with work which others had begun?
2. Compare Romans with other Pauline letters for systematic development and comprehensiveness.
3. What is known about the origins of the Christian Church at Rome?
4. Read 1. 16-23; 2. 1-16; 3. 9-26 and summarize the argument.
5. See 3. 27; 5. 1; 8. 1. What results from justification by faith? How does faith lead to these results?
6. What is the basis for the moral life in 6. 1 to 7. 6?
7. Read 7. 7-25 and explain the argument.
8. Read ch. 8 and summarize the meaning.
9. State the problem considered in chs. 9 to 11 and the course of argument.
10. Read ch. 12. What are the characteristics of the ideal Christian?
11. Read ch. 14 and state the problem and the manner of solving it.
12. What are the indications in ch. 16 that it belongs to a separate letter?
13. Make a more complete outline of Romans than the one given.
14. How is Romans related to Galatians?
 - (a) in its theory of faith and law?
 - (b) In its claim that faith was the foundation principle in Old Testament times?
 - (c) In its presentation of the basis for the moral life?
15. What was Paul's idea about redemption as including the renovation of the material universe?

CHAPTER XIII

CORINTHIANS

CORINTH was situated in a strategic position between northern and southern Greece, on the isthmus between the Corinthian and the Saronic Gulfs. The travel east and west between Asia and Italy passed through it and riches accumulated from its manufactures and commerce. The population of the city since the time of Julius Cæsar had contained Roman colonists, Greeks, and Jews. Of these the Jews formed the smallest group.

Paul went to Corinth after his visit to Athens on his second missionary journey (Acts 18. 1-18) and remained about a year and a half. He associated with the worshipers in the local synagogue as long as they tolerated him. After that he lived in a house near by and held meetings with his Christian converts, among whom was the former head of the synagogue. Many of his associates, however, may have been of the humbler folk of Corinth. Paul supported himself while in the city by his trade, and received special aid in time of need from certain of his friends elsewhere (see 2 Cor 11. 7-9; Phil 4. 15f.).

The church at Corinth probably suffered less from persecutions than some others, but it presented many serious problems, so that it caused Paul more anxiety than any other church. The difficulty arose because of the party divisions among the Corinthian Christians. They were quarrelsome about secondary matters and even dragged their disputes into the courts of the city.

Paul wrote at least four letters to the Corinthians:

- A. The letter referred to in 1 Cor 5. 9-13.
- B. The letter known as First Corinthians.
- C. The letter referred to in 2 Cor 2. 4f., which, probably, does not refer to either of the above.
- D. The letter known as Second Corinthians, or at least the first part of it.

The first letter was a short one calling the members at Corinth to account for certain moral delinquencies. In their reply they did not take Paul's anxious concern about them seriously enough, but they showed a lively interest in certain other matters about which they asked questions. This airy fickleness and failure to appreciate the gravity of the abuses of which Paul complained grieved the apostle. He wrote in reply a long letter which we call First Corinthians, in which he treated more at length the evil tendencies of certain persons in the church (1 Cor 1-6), and then proceeded to deal with the questions which the Corinthians had asked (1 Cor 7ff.).

Some time after writing First Corinthians Paul made a visit to Corinth which resulted unpleasantly (compare 1 Cor 4. 19ff.; 11. 34; 16. 7 and see 2 Cor 2. 1; 12. 14; 13. 1). This unhappy visit was followed by a letter written "out of much affliction and anguish of heart" and "with many tears" (2 Cor 2. 4). This was the third letter, and the letter in which it is mentioned was the fourth.

Certain of Paul's letters to his churches have probably been lost, but the bond between him and his converts was so strong that his churches must have endeavored to preserve his letters carefully. Certainly, after Paul's death his correspondence was highly esteemed. We do not know how early the practice arose among the churches of securing copies of all his letters and reading from them for instruction. We can readily imagine that the correspondence with Corinth was read many times and rewritten as often as the copies wore out so that the order of the letters may have easily become confused in the late copies.

The arrangement of contents in First and Second Corinthians presents difficulties. In Second Corinthians the relation of chs. 10 to 13 to the first nine chapters is hard to understand. Chapters 1 to 9 are written in a cheerful mood; the church has accepted his suggestions, and he feels that confidence is once more possible. In chs. 10 to 13 the mood is radically different. Certain persons are bitterly opposed to him. He retorts sharply and is evidently distressed about the outcome. Many suggestions have been made which would preserve the present arrangement of the letter: (1) That Paul's mood changed when he reached ch. 10, as some suggest, because at that point he received news of unexpected opposition, or (2) that he was addressing a different section in the church. But that Paul would have closed such a letter as 2 Cor 1 to 9 with four such chapters as 10 to 13 remains incredible. Another suggestion is to reverse the order, so that chs. 10 to 13 would be part of a letter written by Paul before the contents of chs. 1 to 9. The letter which contained 2 Cor 10 to 13 would then fit very well the description of the third letter of Paul to Corinth, and 2 Cor 1 to 9 might well be his fourth letter. Chapter 13. 11-13 may have concluded chs. 10 to 13. 10 or, as some would say, be the original ending of chs. 1 to 9.

Several scholars, noticing that 2 Cor 6. 14 to 7. 1 is a parenthetical passage, manifestly out of appropriate context in its present location, have suggested that it may have been a portion, at least, of the first letter of Paul to Corinth. This would restore to us parts of all four of Paul's letters, thus:

- A. 2 Cor 6. 14 to 7. 1.
- B. 1 Cor (entire).
- C. 2 Cor 10 to 13.
- D. 2 Cor 1 to 9 (except A).

Of the letters listed above, B and C were probably written from Ephesus. A may have been written from Ephesus or from some part of the tour mentioned in Acts 18. 18-23.

D was probably from some point in Macedonia, for after Paul wrote his third letter to Corinth by Titus he was very anxious concerning the outcome (2 Cor 7. 5-8). Acts 19 and 20 indicate that, after his long sojourn in Ephesus, Paul was in Macedonia (Acts 20. 1; 2 Cor 7. 5) for a time before starting on the long journey to Jerusalem. He was waiting with much concern for the return of Titus from Corinth. In 2 Cor 2. 13 and 7. 6, 13f. are expressed the apostle's feelings when he greeted Titus returning from Corinth and decided to write the fourth letter, and 2 Cor 1. 8ff. refers to the experiences at Ephesus. In 2 Cor 8. 16-23 it is shown that Titus and at least two others went to Corinth with this fourth letter. Paul hoped to follow (2 Cor 9. 4; Acts 20. 2f.).

The outline of the Corinthian correspondence is as follows :

FIRST CORINTHIANS

- I. Introduction, 1. 1-9.
- II. Paul rebukes abuses, 1. 10 to 6.
 - (1) Factional divisions, 1. 10 to 4.
 - (2) Gross sexual sin, 5 to 6 (omitting 6. 1-11).
 - (3) Litigation in heathen courts, 6. 1-11.
- III. Paul answers questions in the letter from Corinth, 7 to 14.
 - (1) Marital relations, 7.
 - (2) Scruples as to food offered to idols, 8. 1 to 11. 1.
 - (3) Womanly decorum in public worship, 11. 2-16.
 - (4) Behavior at the Lord's Supper, 11. 17-34.
 - (5) Gifts of the Spirit, 12 to 14.
- IV. Paul discusses other subjects.
 - (1) The resurrection, 15.
 - (2) Collection for the poor Christians in Jerusalem and closing salutation, 16.

SECOND CORINTHIANS (reversing the order of the two parts)

- I. Paul's defense of himself and arraignment of his enemies, 10 to 13. 10.
- II. Paul's thanksgiving for the restoration of happy relations with the Corinthian church, 1 to 9.
 1. Introduction, 1-11.

2. Gratulation and friendly advice, 1. 12 to 7.
3. The collection for the poor at Jerusalem, 8 to 9
(Chapter 13. 11-14, closing salutations which may belong either to section I. or II.).

The contents thus outlined throw light on the state of society in the Corinthian church.

A. There must have been many among them who were of a volatile temper, quick, superficial, factious, intellectually curious, disputatious, and morally unstable. Instead of combining the best teaching of all their ministers, the Corinthians broke up into parties which sided with this or another leader and quarreled among themselves. Paul sought to fasten their loyalty to principles rather than to personalities and to emphasize their privilege of oneness in Jesus Christ.

B. It will be asked, How could such gross abuses of decency be possible in a Christian society to which the great apostle had ministered for over a year? The state of morals, and especially the social conscience on marital matters, was exceedingly low in the Greco-Roman world of that age, and we have reason to believe that Corinth was one of the most corrupt cities of the times. Its population was made up of very diverse elements, some of them the worst of the period. From such elements and against such a background was the infant church of Corinth. Paul was greatly disturbed by the moral problems of the church, but he had hope that the life there might be purged of its worst elements and led to higher things. He lavished some of his best instruction on the Corinthians (compare 1 Cor 13). It was a missionary field of the most perplexing kind. With many precedents and traditions, but most of them wrong from the Christian viewpoint, these eager, inquisitive minds turned to Paul for counsel in many things and unwittingly grieved him in many others.

C. As to Paul's rather vigorously emphasized authority as founder in the Corinthian and other churches, we must

remember the chivalric relations which obtain in a new fellowship, and also Paul's strong feeling of the personal bond which united him to his converts. Moreover, there were mischief-makers who did not scruple to follow Paul in his fields and depreciate his authority in the hope of converts to their own point of view. In 2 Cor 10 to 13 it is seen that Paul's claims were contested, but, happily, his worth was at length given its full recognition.

D. Paul refers several times to the plan of a collection. He called for a free-will offering from his missionary field. This he purposed to take or send to Jerusalem where many of the Christians, mostly of the Hebrew stock, were in poverty. It was a very magnanimous thing for Paul and the Gentile churches to do, since it was probably from the Jerusalem church that those Judaizers came who looked askance upon such Christians as were without Jewish background. Paul hoped to prove to the mother church that his Gentile missionary converts possessed the first essential fruit of the Spirit—love. The collection was, therefore, a peace offering, proving the loving union of the fellowship.

The emotional style of Corinthians is in keeping with the fact that they are genuine letters, unpremeditated, intimate, revealing a rich variety of personal attitude and feeling in response to the diversity of questions raised. The order of subjects is that of the emergencies which give rise to the problems. Tense, glowing passages, tender recollection, discussion and appeal follow without system. The sequences are broken, the language is overcharged with the pressure of the apostle's thought. He is endeavoring in these letters to solve critical problems at a distance. His affections vie with his censures and above all there is the one controlling principle of loyalty to Jesus Christ.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Where was Corinth and what was its history under the Romans?
2. What was Paul's experience in the city. See Acts.

3. State the occasion for each of the four letters to Corinth.
4. Read the first six chapters of First Corinthians and describe the state of the church.
5. How would chs. 12 and 13 add to the estimate of the character of the church?
6. What subjects had the Corinthians included in their letter to Paul? In which chapters of First Corinthians did Paul treat of them?
7. What was the problem discussed in 1 Cor 8 and 9? What was Paul's principle of solution? Compare the problem and solution with that in Rom 14.
8. Read 1 Cor 12 to 14. What did Paul mean by "spiritual gifts"? How does he decide which is the best gift?
9. What was Paul's idea of the future life in 1 Cor 15?
10. Read 2 Cor chs. 10 and 11; 1 to 5 in this order. Can you discover a marked difference between the two groups?
11. Prove that 2 Cor 6. 14 to 7. 1 is out of accord with its context.

CHAPTER XIV

LETTERS WRITTEN DURING PAUL'S IMPRISONMENT

THE visit of Paul to Rome was accomplished, but in a manner different from his plan. On reaching Jerusalem Paul was confronted with misunderstanding and opposition. His arrest was brought about by enemies and two years were spent in prison at Cæsarea in Palestine, the seat of government. Fearing an unfair result of the trial, Paul appealed his case to the highest tribunal, at Rome. Acts 28. 30 records that he spent at least two years in that city.

The letters to Philemon, Colossians, Ephesians, and Philippians were written during the years of imprisonment. Both Cæsarea and Rome have been suggested as the places from which they may have been written, but Rome is more commonly accepted. There are those who argue that the fact that Philippians is so different from Colossians and Ephesians, and so much more like Romans in spirit and style, is an indication that Philippians was written nearer the date of Romans. But this argument in order to have much force would require that considerably more time must have elapsed between Philippians and the letters to Colossians and Ephesians than between Philippians and Romans. It was probably not the lapse of time that accounted for the peculiar characteristics of Colossians and Ephesians, but the utterly different circumstances and needs of the recipients of those letters. Supporting this is the probability that more time elapsed between the writing of Romans and all the letters of the third group than between the several members of the third group. The expectation running through it that the trial of Paul was about to take place

leads us to think that Philippians was the last letter of the group (Phil 1. 20ff.; 2. 23). That trial presumably brought the end of his imprisonment.

In general, we should place the date of all the letters of the group not far from 62 A. D.

PHILEMON

This remarkable letter is purely personal in content. Though it mentions several persons in the introductory greetings, and refers to them again in closing, yet the body of the letter is intended for but one person, Philemon, a householder in the little town of Colossæ in middle Asia Minor. The letter is not only remarkable in its intimate picture of the little Christian group addressed, in the light thrown upon the attitude of the Christianity of that age of the Roman world to the institution of slavery, but even more in its revelation of the personality of Paul.

The letter was probably written in Paul's own hand and carried by Tychicus, the bearer of the letter to the church in Colossæ (Col 4. 7ff.), who went accompanied by Onesimus, a runaway slave of Philemon. The slave had fled to Rome, where he became a convert to Christianity through the influence of Paul. It was at once apparent to Paul that Onesimus should return to his master, and the letter seeks a forgiving reception for him. The combination of Paul's courtesy and persuasion is scarcely more genial than the interplay of seriousness and humor. In the eleventh and twentieth verses the writer puns on the Greek name "Onesimus," which means "profitable" or "helpful." Utterly without affectation or the consciousness that his letter would ever become public property, the apostle disclosed in this perfectly spontaneous note the secret of his great power with his friends.

COLOSSIANS

Colossæ was situated in the Lycus Valley, in that part

of the country of Phrygia which was included in the Roman province of Asia. Paul had never visited the place (Col 1. 4; 2. 1), but one of his evangelists, Epaphras, had founded the church there, so Paul felt that it was a part of his work.

The occasion for the letter was news brought by Epaphras of the Colossians' progress in the Christian religion. It appears that a disturbing philosophical teaching akin to that known later as Gnosticism was threatening the hold of the gospel on the Asian churches. What this was we can only surmise from the apostle's discussion of the subject. It is clear that he is using the terms and conceptions of the teaching throughout the letters Colossians and Ephesians. The words and phrases and the peculiar cast given by the method to the thought and style of Paul are easily detected in Colossians as differing from the Pauline manner in the letters of the second group (see 1. 9-19, 26; 2. 8-10, 16-23). The mention of "the mystery," "the fullness," "the principalities," "powers," "thrones," "all things," "treasures of wisdom," together with the references to "voluntary humility," "worshiping of the angels," and the items in 2. 16, are all suggestive of a theosophical blending of elements of the Phrygian religion, Judaism, and the Greek thought of Alexandria. Many such precursors of Gnosticism must have flourished for a time and are partly revealed probably in the more complete Gnostic systems of the second century A. D.

All Gnostic systems agreed in conceiving of God as too spiritual and too remote from the material world to have any close relation to it. Matter was corrupt, and the Supreme Being was too pure to be its creator. Between God and the world they thought of a numerous succession of subordinate beings, or divinities, who attended to the production and government of mankind and the material universe. The idea of the Divine Being was, as a result, very hazy. The effect on Christian doctrine was chiefly noticeable in the tendency to think of Jesus Christ not as pre-

eminent, but as one of the innumerable emanations or principalities or powers that filled the infinite distance between the highest Deity and the world. This would have emptied the gospel of moral and religious significance and have reduced Paul's unique Lord and Master to an inconsiderable rank and function, instead of conceiving him as the Redeemer of the world. To oppose similar insidious and dreamy speculation in his own day Paul developed and expressed even more carefully than before his doctrine of the person, significance, and work of Jesus Christ in the world and in the preexistent ages. He did this by capturing the phraseology of the error which he opposed and showed how even on its suppositions it was necessary to consider Christ as the interpreting clue in creation.

EPHESIANS

The tendency of biblical scholarship is to follow the testimony of the best two MSS. of the New Testament (N and B) which omit the words "at Ephesus" from the first sentence of this letter. A very likely suggestion is that the letter may have been sent, in several copies to different churches in Asia Minor, and that the Ephesian congregation may have found or have placed the words "at Ephesus" in its own copy. Paul spent more time in Ephesus than in any other field to which we have his letters. His relations with the Ephesian Christians were particularly intimate. We saw reason for thinking that the sixteenth chapter of Romans was filled with names of his Ephesian friends, and know that many hold the opinion that the chapter is a part at least of a letter to the church at Ephesus. In the light of that opinion, and the reasons for it, consider the general contents and all but impersonal manner of the letter called Ephesians. Paul is not known in any other case to have written a letter so devoid of personal greetings to a church that he had seen. The first fifteen chapters of Romans are much more particular and

intimate, although they were sent to a church which Paul had not visited.

Col 4. 16 implies that a letter had been sent to Laodicea and that it was to be exchanged with the Colossians for their letter from Paul. It may be, as some think, that our Ephesians was a circular letter of which the letter to the Laodiceans was one copy.

The Outline of Colossians

Greetings	I. 1, 2
Thanksgiving for their faith.....	I. 3-8
Prayer for their perfection.....	I. 9-23
Paul rejoices in his lot.....	I. 24-29
His concern for Asian Christians.....	2. 1-7
Warnings	2. 8 to 3. 4
Practical exhortations	3. 5 to 4. 5
Personal notes and closing words.....	4. 7-18

The Outline of Ephesians

Greetings	I. 1, 2
Beatitude and ascription of praise.....	I. 3-14
Thanksgiving and prayer.....	I. 15-23
Doctrinal statement of religious position.....	2. 1-22
Prayer (with long personal parenthesis).....	3. 1-21
Exhortations, interspersed with doctrinal passages and warnings	4. 1 to 6. 20
Personal notes and closing words.....	6. 21-24

The contents of Colossians and Ephesians are strikingly similar. It may be that, after having written Colossians, the apostle or a follower composed Ephesians with a similar outline in mind and by enlargement of the discussion of the themes of Colossians. The dominant theme of Colossians, the Supreme Significance of Christ, is the main thought of Ephesians, but in the latter epistle it leads to a secondary theme of The Harmonious Church in Christ. In Colossians the unique position of Christ is made clear for the sake of those interested in philosophy. In Ephesians it

is emphasized for the sake of concord and efficiency within the church fellowship.

The thought of Colossians and Ephesians is much more abstract than that of the letters which have preceded, and the literary style takes on a like abstract quality. The sentences are heavy and complex. In the first chapter of Colossians are some of these very long sentences, and the English reader will find one in the first chapter of Ephesians that is twelve verses long. In fact these two letters are as different from Thessalonians, Galatians, and Corinthians as the fourth Gospel is different from the synoptics.

PHILIPPIANS

The church at Philippi in Macedonia was the first one founded by Paul in Europe. It was a source of much satisfaction to him, being made up of simple-hearted, earnest, affectionate people who were very loyal to the apostle. They even sent him occasional gifts of money to help him in his work.

After greeting them Paul writes that he is ever thankful and confident concerning the spiritual progress of the Christians at Philippi. He wishes to assure them that his afflictions as a prisoner have a good result, in that they are the occasion of making Christ better known, and he is very desirous that the Philippians shall be firm. Chapter 2—He urges upon them the humble, obedient mind of Christ Jesus, who divested himself of all privilege that he might be perfectly obedient even to death. For that reason God has made Jesus Christ Lord of all. The Philippians are to be likewise obedient, in order that they may be luminous in this world. Paul commended two unselfish ministers whom he was sending to Philippi—Timothy, who was less known to them, and Epaphroditus, who was their minister and their messenger to Paul. Chapter 3—Paul put them on their guard against the Judaizing teachers such as had made mischief in Galatia, Corinth, and other places. Chapter 4—

The apostle includes a personal word to two women in the church, urging them to seek to be at one in Christian service, and he also urges the members to help the women and other laborers in the gospel. With another emphasis upon joy, with a list of the graces they are to seek, and with a careful restatement of his occasion for gratitude to the Philippians for their material provision for him, Paul closes with salutations and a benediction.

The contents may be outlined as follows:

Greetings	I. 1, 2
Thanksgiving and prayer	I. 3-11
Personal assurances	I. 12-30
Practical exhortations	2. 1-18
Personal notes	2. 19-30
Warning against false teachers	3. 1-21
Exhortations, gratitude and closing	4. 1-23

The most famous passage in the book is in 2. 6-8, which with its context is Paul's clearest statement of his doctrine that the preexistent Christ submitted obediently to the human estate of incarnation and death, as a result of which God has raised Jesus to the first rank, so that all should confess that he is Lord to the glory of God the Father.

The occasion for the letter seems to have been that Paul wished to send by the two ministers Timothy and Epaphroditus not only his commendation of them but words of comfort and appreciation to his loyal friends at Philippi, and to warn them against external foes, the Judaizers, and against internal discord or gloom.

The use of the word "finally" in 3. 1 has led some critics to think that Paul brought his letter to a close at that point and that what follows is either part of another letter or subsequent supplementation. But, on the whole, it seems more likely that we have a continuous letter and that the word translated "finally" would be better translated by "moreover" or "besides" and indicate merely a transition to another subject or phase of thought.

We place the letter last in date of the Prison Group, when the long delayed trial of Paul was about to take place. Paul seems to have expected to be set free, but whether he was or not we do not know.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Trace Paul's progress from Corinth to Rome after writing the letter to Romans. See Acts.
2. Discuss the periods during the imprisonments of Paul at which he might have written these letters.
3. What are the conclusive arguments of those who date all in the Roman period?
4. What is the preferred order for these letters, with reasons?
5. What are the reasons suggested for the differences between Colossians and Philippians?
6. Read Philemon for information about Philemon and Onesimus and the life of that day.
7. What extra data about Paul does the letter give us?
8. Compare character, manner, and style of Philemon with any of Paul's other letters.
9. Where was Colossæ, and what was the origin of the church there?
10. What was Gnosticism, and when was it prevalent?
11. What elements of Colossians suggest incipient Gnosticism?
12. How did the treatment of the peculiar phase of thought in Colossians affect the literary style?
13. Paraphrase Ephesians, ch. 1.
14. How does Eph 1 differ from Paul's style in Galatians?
15. Compare the subjects of Ephesians with those of Colossians.
16. Read Philippians at a sitting.
17. What subjects are treated in it?
18. Which passage shows the occasion for writing the letter?
19. What is disclosed of Paul's situation and of the spirit in which he met it?
20. State in your own words the argument in Phil 2. 1-11.
21. If the substance of Paul's message to the Philippians, was, "I rejoice, rejoice ye," verify it from the letter. Why did Paul rejoice?

CHAPTER XV

THE PASTORAL LETTERS

THE fourth group of Pauline letters deals with questions of church administration and discipline. They are letters of encouragement to Timothy and Titus. The apostle is not, as in the first three groups, represented as combating errors directly, but as urging these ministers who stand between Paul and the churches to oppose the threatening evils. The letters would imply that the emergencies of the period did not call for any advancement in the statement of Christian doctrine, but that the system of truth was now complete, and all that was necessary was its application. On the other hand, new emergencies called for new adjustment of the ecclesiastical machinery, which is evident in the recognition of elders and deacons as separate orders of ministry.

It is felt by nearly all scholars that the difficulties in the way of recognizing these as letters from Paul are greater than is the case with any others of the Pauline writings. Critics either accept or reject all three of the Pastorals. For the case is much the same with First and Second Timothy and Titus. The main difficulties are (1) in reconciling the statements about the travels of Paul and his friends with anything that we know about the subject from Acts and the other epistles. (2) The manner of Paul in the Pastorals is said to be unlike him. He is said to be too harsh, as in the case of Cretans (Titus 1. 12, 13) and of Alexander the coppersmith (2 Tim 4. 14). (3) The author uses phrases unlike Paul's ordinary usage. (4) The language in these letters shows many differences from the Pauline

vocabulary in the other letters. (5) The doctrinal content of the Pastorals is said to be unlike the teaching in the undisputed epistles. A possible way of meeting the first objection is by the statement that Paul was liberated from his Roman imprisonment and went about upon his tours again, which would give time for all the occurrences in the Pastoral references. The second objection is a matter that is scarcely debatable on exact grounds, but will be decided according to one's point of view. To the third and fourth objection answer has been made by referring to Paul's versatility in phraseology and his dependence on the services of different scribes. Some have suggested Luke as the author. The fifth point will be discussed below.

A final consideration which may be permitted even by one who would claim substantial Pauline authorship for them, is that these letters have been more freely dealt with by their owners and students. And a plausible reason would be that these were to be retained as manuals by church officers instead of being quite so congregational in character as most of the preceding letters. Much has been said on all sides of the question since the days of Schleiermacher's objections (to First Timothy especially). See an excellent statement by Adeney (Bennett and Adeney, 406 to 414). It has even been suggested that Timothy and Titus arranged these works upon the basis of briefer messages of Paul to themselves.

Timothy was the close friend and companion of Paul in travel and work. He may have been Paul's secretary. In five instances he is mentioned with Paul as joined in the dispatch of letters to the churches, namely, 1 Thess 1. 1; 2 Thess 1. 1; 2 Cor 1. 1; Phil 1. 1; Col 1. 1. In the letter to Philemon also, v. 1, we find him joined with Paul, and he is prominent in the salutations found in Romans 16 (v. 21). His mother was a Jewess, though his father was a Gentile. He himself conformed to Judaism (Acts 16. 3) and thus was with Paul eligible to the society of Jews. His

experiences with Paul, begun in youth, continued probably until the apostle was put to death.

FIRST TIMOTHY

Paul wrote from Macedonia to Timothy, whom he had left in charge at Ephesus. The message urged Timothy to be loyal and alert, to check false conceptions of the law and its function. It advised concerning true worship and the requisite character in church officers. It warned against nonessentials and perversions and gave practical advice concerning social order and discipline in the membership.

As a literary work it is thought to be most independent of Paul and at the same time the most continuous of the three letters.

The relationship between Paul and Timothy seems forced, with the result that Paul shows almost puerile caution. Timothy (and Titus as well) was told many things which seem unnecessary on the theory that Paul had either been with him recently or was about to see him. Such passages as 1 Tim 1. 12-17; 1 Tim 2. 7 seem superfluous.

Of the three letters First Timothy seems most surely post-apostolic. This has reference to the object sought, the manner and the language. In many respects it reminds one of the *Didache*, a manual of instruction for Christians, which was published about 100 A. D.

SECOND TIMOTHY

This letter purports to be from Rome while Paul was a prisoner. His case seemed desperate, but he wrote to encourage Timothy, who was still in charge at Ephesus, and to ask him to join Paul in Rome. This state of things would involve a second imprisonment of Paul in Rome.

Even the most stringent criticism is likely to admit that certain passages, such as 1. 1f, 15-18; 4. 9-21, are genuinely Pauline. Others would admit a larger element of genuineness.

TITUS

Was written either from Greece or Macedonia to Titus, who was the leading Christian representative in the island of Crete, where he had labored with Paul. Titus was one of Paul's Gentile converts whom Paul made use of as an example of the freedom and efficacy of his gospel of faith in Christ as alone essential to give one the true Christian character (Gal 2. 3; Titus 1. 4). He was the trusted messenger of Paul to the factious church at Corinth, and carried the critical third epistle from Paul to that society at a time when Paul's relations to the church were in jeopardy. Probably he was influential in bringing about the more reasonable attitude which that church adopted toward its spiritual father, Paul. It would appear from 2 Cor 8 that Titus was also the bearer of Paul's fourth letter to Corinth. The character revealed in these records is of an earnest, zealous, and much trusted Christian minister.

The epistle to Titus advised the repression of mischief-makers and gave practical advice for an orderly and quiet Christian life among the Cretan societies.

It has been remarked as strange that Paul, having had so brief an acquaintance with the Cretan field, should inform Titus, who lived there, of the character of the population and especially that he should use the uncomplimentary language of 1. 12f. Moreover, it has been pointed out that the advice given is of a very elementary kind, especially when one reads that oral advice had already been given (1. 5) and that more was likely to follow (3. 12).

By those who reject their Pauline authorship it is customary to arrange the letters in the order Second Timothy, Titus, First Timothy, and to point out that there is much parallel material in them.

It is felt by the large and growing list of those who cannot accept the strict Pauline authorship of these three letters that they would represent the great apostle in an attitude of increasing accommodation if not of retreat before

opposition and suggestion. He seems in the Pastorals to have relinquished the sharp characteristics that distinguished him in the second group especially. The positions, arguments, manner, diction and even courage seem to have changed.

But as Beyschlag notes (New Testament Theology 501ff.) the letters betray the fact that the errors which are made to appear as predictions of Paul were really troubles of later times and probably the letters were written in those times. He himself, if alive, would not appeal so exclusively (See Sheldon's New Testament Theology) to ecclesiastical means for the correction of error, but would trust more to the spirit of Christ to work reforms in the church and would give them clear, authoritative advice as he did to the Corinthians. Compare 1 Tim 4. 1 with 1. 3; 1. 19 with 6. 20; 2 Tim 3. 1; 4. 3 with 2. 16-18, 23.

It is a much weakened Pauline doctrine that is found in the Pastorals. They are more of the order of ecclesiastical policing than religious prophecy. All the rugged, subtle, and unique things in Paul are hard to find here. God as Saviour is a peculiar thought and phrase (1 Tim 1. 1; 2. 3; 4. 10; 2 Tim 1. 9; Titus 1. 3; 2. 10; 3. 4). Compare 1 Tim 1. 8f. with Paul's well-known attitude to the law as found in the second group of letters. It is, however, just such an interpretation of Paul's teaching as one might expect sadly perplexed officials in the Pauline churches to retain and exhibit in the last of the first century or early in the second.

Faith has become much more an objective thing than was possible with Paul, while his doctrine of an inner and vital union with Christ disappears. The teaching about Christ in the following passages is to be noted: 1 Tim 1. 15; 2. 5; 2 Tim 1. 10; Titus 1. 4; 2. 11, 13; 3. 4ff. The conception of the Spirit in the Pastorals is like that in Second Peter and the Apocalypse.

"These epistles became authorities of unique importance

for the gradual transformation which the ideas promulgated by Paul underwent in the Greek world. They show us how much of these ideas was preserved, how much still understood, how much dropped in process of time; they witness to the reverence with which men regarded the founder of Greek Christendom, to the increasing spiritual subjection of the later generations to the past—to the first generation."

Moffatt (Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament 399) urges that the very roughness and discrepancies in all, especially in Second Timothy, "indicate that the writer had not a free hand. Certain traditions lay before him. He was not sketching a purely imaginary set of circumstances, but was engaged in working up materials which were not always tractable." Attention is called to the fact that in 2 Tim 1. 1 to 1. 13 the emphasis is on suffering with and for the gospel as a note of genuine Christianity, endurance being a feature of the Pauline gospel.

It is likely that these letters, especially Second Timothy, contain elements from older letters or conversations of Paul which became nuclei about which disciplinary fragments were assembled and worked into manuals by church officers.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Gather the main subjects treated in these three letters: First Timothy, Second Timothy and Titus.
2. Is the method employed one of argument or appeal? Illustrate from actual passages.
3. Sketch Timothy's life from Acts and Paul's letters.
4. Read 1 Tim 1-4. What subjects are included? What are the favorite phrases?
5. Show in above passage difference between the phrases used and Paul's customary usage.
6. What are the most Pauline passages in Second Timothy? The least Pauline?
7. What is known of Titus?
8. What is the content of the letter to Titus?
9. Discuss the relative merits of the three letters.
10. What possible explanations are there of their present form?
11. What period of church history do they reflect?

CHAPTER XVI

HEBREWS

THIS is a great apologetic essay in the form of a general letter, upon the central importance of the Christian faith in the midst of more imposing because more ritualistic and materialistic forms of worship, which are nevertheless of inferior merit.

Not only is it an anonymous work, but no unanimity has been reached as to its destination. Apparently some writer of the first Christian century, who was strongly influenced by both the Pauline thought and the Greek philosophy, was addressing a representative body of Christians which was feeling the pressure of competition with some seemingly more glorious because more pretentious religious system.

While the influence of the thought of Paul was strong in this writer, there is also considerable independence of Paul. The writer's philosophical method belongs to the type of thought called Alexandrianism, which was a blending of Judaism and the new Platonism. An example of the thought of that school is to be seen in the work of Philo, the learned Jew of Alexandria (Egypt). The intellectual and religious position of a Christian Alexandrian is shown in the epistle to the Hebrews. Its Alexandrianism is plainly seen in the very allegorical use made of the Old Testament (LXX). The writer, using a characteristic method of his school, proved by a series of strong contrasts that Christ and the gospel, that is, Christianity, are of surpassing spiritual, eternal worth and glory. The writing is in beau-

tiful and impressive Greek and was produced some time during the last quarter of the first Christian century ($\pm$ 80). It was used by Clement of Rome (95 A. D.).

There is a majestic sweep in the generalizations of the book. It deals with great cosmic concepts, and yet, alternating with its philosophic flights of argument, there are passages of plainest religious exhortation. This succession of abstract argument and practical plea mounts to a skillful climax. To illustrate on how grand a scale the religious ideas of the epistle are drawn, notice how such a concrete idea as the Old Testament Sabbath takes on a cosmic, eternal significance, 4. 4 and 9. Note how the priesthood has passed, in the idealization of the writer, from an office on earth, appointive or hereditary, to a great, eternal function of the Divine Son who passes through the heavens, 4. 14 (also 2. 17; 3. 1; 7. 26-28). His tabernacle is spiritual and eternal, 9. 11, 14. The blood which was shed was his own, 9. 14 and 2. 9. He was sacrifice as well as priest, 10. 10. There was one sacrifice, forever, of perfect efficacy for sin, 10. 10, 12, 14, 18. Life is a vast arena in full view of the ages and of all the worthies of the faith. The heavenly Jerusalem is the church of the first-born in heaven. These are a few of the magnificent conceptions with which the writer deals. (See also 5. 9; 9. 12; 9. 14f.; 13. 20 for the eternal aspect.)

The type of thought found everywhere in the epistle to the Hebrews helps us to understand the growth of Christian ideas between the age of Paul and the time of the author of our fourth Gospel. Paul, Hebrews, and John are in the direct line of succession, illustrating the development of Christian interpretation, especially in the Gentile field, through fifty years or more. The deeply spiritual gospel of Paul was developed by Greek Christianity to the positions revealed to us in Hebrews and the fourth Gospel.

The idea of faith is different in Hebrews from Paul's

teaching. According to Hebrews, faith is a firm conviction, an assurance, to which one holds unswervingly, of the verity of the unseen or spiritual realities. Thus its intellectual side is emphasized more than in Paul. In the eleventh chapter of Hebrews the examples cited would almost allow our defining faith as unshakable confidence in God. But with Paul faith consists essentially of personal union with Christ. Thus we see that in the advance of Christian thought to the position of Hebrews something is lost of the Pauline doctrine. It is that mystical part of Paul's teaching about faith. Heb 2. 11; 3. 14, 18 offer only a faint suggestion of it.

Compare the attitude of Hebrews to the Old Testament with Paul's estimate of the ancient system and Scriptures. Paul allowed that the law (Mosaic) had a disciplinary, guiding function for awhile, but Hebrews reduces it to the value of a shadow in comparison to the good things of Christianity.

Contrast the dependence of this author's thought on the testimony of the early disciples of Jesus (Heb 2. 3) with Paul's independence (Gal 1. 1-17).

Contents. The theme of the book is the finality of the revelation through Christ. The great argument of the book is found in the first ten chapters, interspersed as they are with practical applications for each separate turn of the thought. The writer contrasted Christ with everything in the Hebrew religion that could be brought in comparison, with the result that Christ is shown to be superior to prophets (1. 1-3); to angels (1. 4-14); to Moses (3. 1-6); to Joshua (ch. 4), for he leads his people to permanent rest. He is superior to Aaron (chs. 5 and 6), who was imperfect and his priesthood temporary. Christ is a Priest of the order of Melchizedek, not of Aaron. Patient effort is needed to understand this revelation of Christ's priesthood. Melchizedek (ch. 7) stands for a permanent priest, appointed personally by God, and superior to the Hebrew

priesthood. Chapter 8 concludes the first phase of the argument and passes over to the second. All the old priesthood is symbolic. True reality belongs to the spiritual sphere, and the earthly phenomena are copies only of heavenly reality. Christ's priesthood is not an earthly unsubstantial thing, but a spiritual eternal reality, therefore the covenant he brings is better than that of the earthly priesthood. A consideration of the Hebrew sanctuary shows this (ch. 9), as does a consideration of the sacrifices (ch. 10), for earthly sacrifices could never bring harmony with God, since that is in the spiritual realm. They only symbolize a spiritual reality. The fundamental reason for all this is that Christ is the complete revelation, while these others were by their very nature and appointment inferior and had only partial success. The religion of Christ is the religion of perfect access to God (9. 9; 10. 4, 22).

Each stage in the argument has included appropriate exhortation, but chs. 11 to 13 bring the book to a close with the application of the argument to life. In ch. 11 the basis of religious life is faith, which is the conviction of the reality of the unseen. In this faith the heroes of the Hebrew race themselves lived. In chs. 12 and 13 Jesus makes this faith plain, and in it we can live and, if need be, suffer. Faith issues in a life of good deeds, and needs no visible altar and temple.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Is Hebrews a letter or a book? Which verses give it the appearance of a letter?
2. What philosophy was influential with the writer?
3. How and where is Paul's influence felt?
4. Discuss Alexandrianism.
5. What place did the writing to the Hebrews hold in the developing Christian thought?
6. Can you prove the rhetorical symmetry and careful development of the thought of the book by a minute outline of its contents?

7. Read 1. 1-5 and say in what the superiority of the revelation through Christ consisted.
8. What is the argument concerning Melchizedek? Is there anything in Galatians like it?
9. What is the significance of 8. 1 for the composition and argument?
10. State in your own words the argument in chs. 8 to 10 on the two covenants. Compare with Paul's antithesis on the law and the Spirit.
11. Compare the teaching about faith (11. 1-3ff.) with Paul's teaching.
12. Show traces of the Pauline style in ch. 13, and elements not like Paul.
13. Tell which are the hortatory passages in the book, and show how they follow after the argumentative passages.
14. How does this writing mediate between the teachings of Paul and those of the fourth Gospel?
15. Contrast the attitude of Hebrews to the Old Testament system with that of Paul.
16. How does this writing illustrate the fact that absence of knowledge as to author and destination does not destroy the value of the book?

CHAPTER XVII

THE GENERAL EPISTLE OF JAMES

THERE is nothing else in the New Testament quite like the treatise called the epistle of James. It is best compared with the homilies of the Hebrew wisdom school or such church tracts as the *Didache*. It is one of the best of its class. The mystery of affliction is interpreted as the trial of our moral endurance, which is thereby perfected.

Main Contents. God, who is generous and magnanimous, will grant to loyal souls the wisdom they require. He causes to be born within us a truthful word which saves us by its dominance and is proven by its good fruit in the life. Sin, on the other hand, grows because of one's consent to evil desire and inevitably leads to death (1. 15). A constant observance of that word of truth or that higher liberalizing law leads one to the right character which must be watchfully maintained.

Pretense will not avail. There must be the faithful performance of right, merciful deeds. The royal law (2. 8) is that from Leviticus (19. 18), "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Invidious respect of rank because of worldly station is a breach of that law (2. 9f.). One of the most insidious foes of the true wisdom is the untutored tongue. It is the great mischief-maker (3. 1ff.).

There are the true friends of God on the one side and on the other, the friends of all that he opposes which is summed up as "the world." Vaunting pride and inordinate desire are the expression of that worldly spirit which is contrary to God and is the cause of unhappiness (ch. 4).

The fifth and last chapter opens with one of the most

severe attacks upon the rich to be found in any religious literature. The writer then turns to a consolatory address to the righteous and presumably the poor.

The style of presentation in James is peculiar. It is like the successive links in a chain of thoughts, each one suggested by some phase of the preceding one or some word which gives a new turn to the conversation. The writer is thoroughly steeped in his subjects. They are old time favorites with him and he knows all their bearings. This is evident in the way in which passages far apart from each other in his treatise agree so perfectly with each other. We feel that he could not say anything that would not be perfectly consistent with that which he has already said. He expresses familiarly and easily the inmost subjects of a lifetime's meditations. His principles and lessons have been absorbed into his very being. When he speaks of them he is perfectly easy and self-explanatory. This gives, in connection with his admirable diction and style, a classic of the type of Christian ethics for which he stands. This author is the New Testament wise man who speaks with a timeless security and oracular power.

The questions which arise are these: When was this work composed? Who was the author? Why is it so different from the Gospels and epistles although possessed of much of their spirit? What relation has its thought to that of Paul, especially in the discussion of faith and works?

We are struck with the independent manner in which this book treats of familiar themes and are at a loss at first to say whether it is a pre-Christian, early Christian, or late Christian treatise. Strong writers have appeared for each opinion. One group of critics says it is a Hebrew work adapted by Christians to the needs of the churches. If the first verses of chs. 1 and 2 be left out, they say, the work stands as a pre-Christian writing on subjects familiar to a devout student of the ancient prophets, wise men, and the Jewish writings between the two Testaments.

A second group claims that James, the brother of Jesus, not the apostle but the leader of the Jerusalem church, wrote the tract, probably between 40 and 50 A. D., or even earlier.

A third large group would date James late in the first century, or even well along in the second. When the great doctrinal disputes of the apostolic circles had somewhat subsided there was need of much disciplinary care within the congregations, which was met by a series of rather tame moral treatises, such as the *Didache*. Such writings were very dependent on the great leaders of the New Testament times, but either did not show or possess any power to grapple with the great doctrinal problems. We have several such lesser Christian writings in the New Testament. James would be held, by most, greatly to exceed those works, although Luther, referring to its discussion of faith and works, did call it a straw-epistle.

As to the question of authorship, the only possible clue is in case the second group of critics named be right. If the epistle came earlier or later than James, we do not know who the author may have been.

There are several Jameses mentioned in the New Testament. Two were apostles and one was the brother of Jesus. The apostle James, who was the brother of John and the son of Zebedee, was killed under Herod Agrippa in 44 A. D. The other apostle James had apparently no prominence; but James, the Lord's brother, became head of the Jerusalem church and is mentioned in the lists in Acts before Peter and John the apostles.

The difference between the manner and content of James and the other New Testament writings is best explained by the first and third theories, which consider James a pre-Christian or postapostolic work.

The discussion of faith and works has but remote verbal relation to anything said in Paul. Paul's doctrine of faith was that it was a vitalizing union with the spirit of Christ which insured just those acts of goodness and mercy

which James demands. Paul would certainly not base salvation upon those evidences, but upon the faith that produced them. Still less could he entertain such a thought as a dead faith, unless one meant by that a lost faith or a lost relationship with Christ. And by "works" Paul always meant, in his discussions, the performance of legal requirements, that is, "works of the law." The benevolences which James meant by the term "works" were, of course, to be expected in the Christian. The whole ethical and nontheological treatment of the matter in James looks like the work of the postapostolic times.

It would appear, therefore, that the excellent Greek style, the wide scope of the address, the moral state of the society in which the believers resided, the peculiar detachment from the problems and doctrines of the apostolic age, as well as the richness of the allusions to both Old and New Testament teaching, indicate a late date for this work.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Read James through and decide as to what subjects are most prominent.
2. To what class of writings does James belong?
3. Is James predominantly religious or ethical?
4. What are the difficulties in the way of dating James?
5. Why is so little said about Jesus Christ in the epistle?
6. Read James 1. 1-15 and show where the suggestion for each new topic is derived.
7. What is the author's theory of sin in 1. 12-15? Of salvation in 1. 21, etc.?
8. Read 2. 1-13. Compare its teaching on the law (v. 8) with the synoptic and Pauline teachings.
9. How may ch. 3 reflect disputes in the period of the author?
10. Contrast the meaning of "faith" and "works" for this author and for Paul.
11. Compare the spirit of 5. 1-11 with Micah's message.

CHAPTER XVIII

FIRST PETER

THIS is an epistle of rare spirituality and force, thought by some to be very much in the character of Peter and like the speeches in Acts which are assigned to him.

First Peter is a general letter, but slightly longer than James, and is addressed to converts from the Gentiles throughout the Asian provinces. It was probably written from Rome. As in the case of James, there are suggestions both for an early and late date. If by Peter, then it would have been written 65 A. D. or a little later, after the martyrdom of Paul and while the Christian leaders still clung fondly to a loyal recognition of the Roman government as an impartial administrator. In this case Silvanus, who is mentioned as the scribe employed by Peter, must be responsible for much of the style, as the letter is in excellent Greek. It is strongly hortatory and enforces its practical considerations with firm doctrinal confidence. The work is a favorite with teachers of ethics. It looks upon the Christians as a social group, affected by the terrors that threaten. The impress of persecution is strong upon the writer of the book; and if he be Peter, then that impression may be the reflection of his own peril and that of his companions in Rome.

The peculiar thing about this book is that it is so strongly Pauline, and the question arises whether that is because Peter has become thoroughly imbued with Paul's thought, or because Silvanus is allowed to express things in his own way and in harmony with Paul's teaching, or because some other person wrote the letter which was later ascribed to

Peter. The letter is strongly suggestive of Romans and to a smaller degree of Ephesians also.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. What is the geographical situation of the countries mentioned in the address?
2. Make a summary of the contents of First Peter.
3. What Pauline traits are seen in the first chapter? Also in 2. 24?
4. What points in ch. I remind you of Hebrews?
5. What passages and thoughts remind one of Colossians and Ephesians?
6. What lesson is derived by the author from the experience of suffering? See 2. 19ff.; 3. 17ff.; 4. 1, 12ff.
7. Where does the author express his idea of the solidarity of the Christian fellowship?
8. Collect the passages which show the apocalyptic expectation.
9. Describe the diction and style of First Peter.
10. How could it be from Peter and yet be so Pauline?

CHAPTER XIX

JUDE AND SECOND PETER

JUDE

THE general epistle of Jude, a servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James, is traditionally supposed to have been written by one of the brothers of Jesus (Mark 6. 3). It is in the form of an open letter, with strong apocalyptic tone, violently attacking a certain class of persons who claimed the liberty of joining gross immoralities with a religious profession, presumably on the ground that they were exercising their spiritual freedom. There were several sects of religionists in the second century A. D., which departed in various ways from decent morals and yet claimed to be spiritually led. These persons attacked by Jude may have been forerunners of such sects.

Contents. The writer, while treating of the theme of the Christian salvation, felt urgently the need of warning the faithful ones of certain pervers within the fellowship. These were not new phenomena in religion. Of the host saved out of Egyptian bondage there were many unworthy ones who had to be destroyed. So it was with the angels themselves. Whole cities, as Sodom and Gomorrah, have been destroyed on account of sin. Thus it will be with the persons whom Jude mentions. They make high professions and are guilty of low deeds. A Christian society that tolerates such will be wrecked. They are useless egotists and will be the objects of God's terrible wrath.

In former time the apostles said that such irreverent mischiefmakers would afflict the later days of the church. The writer urged that these mistaken ones be sifted out discrim-

inately with an attempt to save any that were amenable. He commended the faithful to God, who saves through Jesus Christ and who can keep his own from stumbling.

The writer referred to the apocryphal book of Enoch (60. 8; 93. 3) in v. 14 and probably to the Assumption of Moses, another late Jewish writing in v. 9.

This writing, together with Second Peter, parts of which are obviously expanded upon the same lines, is symptomatic of the foes which Christianity had to meet in the age succeeding that of the apostles. The purpose was clearly to startle the readers into an alert attitude of hostility against all variations from the accepted religious and moral standards of the early Christianity of the apostles. No attempt was made to explain the phases of the error denounced, but we surmise in the words of attack what that error was.

If the author was the person named in v. 1, then the date was in the last quarter of the first century. Many students, however, consider the writing pseudonymous and find no certainty as to author or destination. They date the epistle all the way from 75 to 125 A. D.

SECOND PETER

This is a general epistle obviously modeled upon Jude, most of which is absorbed or expanded in this larger work. It was directed to Christians in general.

In the first chapter the writer urged the readers to grow in the Christian life by the acquirement, one after another, of all the Christian graces. These will be a defense against stumbling and will insure entrance into the eternal kingdom of Christ.

In the second chapter much of the epistle of Jude is seen in expanded form. Compare

2 Pet 2. 1, 2 with Jude 4; 2 Pet 2. 4 with Jude 6; 2 Pet 2. 6 with Jude 7; 2 Pet 2. 10-12 with Jude 8-10; 2 Pet 2. 13 with Jude 12; 2 Pet 2. 15 with Jude 11; 2 Pet 2. 17 with Jude 12, 13; 2 Pet 2. 18 with Jude 16.

Other comparisons are possible in chs. 1 and 3. In the third chapter the warning in 3. 1-3 may be compared with Jude 17, 18. Special attention is then given to those who, either in despair or by way of taunt, said, "Where is the promise of his coming?" That is, there were those who discredited the current expectation that Jesus would come again. The author replied that as surely as the earth was once ruined by water so it will be destroyed by fire and is driven to retort to the complaint of long delay that "one day is with the Lord as a thousand years." This third chapter contains the author's apocalyptic hope in frankly materialistic terms.

The fact that the writer is plainly in those "last days" of which he speaks in 3. 3, 4, that he is faced by the skepticism of those who question the second coming in a material sense, that he makes such evident effort to authenticate his writing, as from Peter (2 Pet 1. 1, 14, 16-21; 3. 1), and refers in such objective manner to apostles (3. 2) and to Paul's writings (3. 15f.) as remote, that he is dependent on Jude, itself having marks of lateness, lead to the conclusion that Second Peter is the latest of the New Testament writings. The style and thought are utterly different from First Peter. Possibly the date may be as late as 150 A. D. ±

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. What are the things which mark Jude as apocalyptic?
2. What relation exists between Jude and Second Peter?
3. What method is recommended in 2 Pet 1 for becoming right?
Contrast with Paul's teaching.
4. What does 2 Pet 3. 4 reflect as to the attitude of Christians to the subject of the coming of Christ?
5. Compare the state of the church as reflected in Jude and Second Peter with that disclosed by the Pastoral letters.
6. Discuss fully the dates of Jude and Second Peter.

CHAPTER XX

THE THREE EPISTLES OF JOHN

THESE three short writings are commonly recognized as being linked in diction, style, and thought with the fourth Gospel, and must at least have come from the same school of writers, and probably are from the same author.

They may have originated, therefore, in Ephesus about the end of the first century or the beginning of the second.

The first epistle seems to be a general address, having little of the epistolary form.

Second John is addressed to the elect lady. Whether this was intended figuratively to mean the Christian Church or literally to mean an eminent Christian woman is not easy to determine.

Third John was addressed to a certain Gaius.

Comparison of phrases may be made between

1 John 2. 7; 3. 11 and 2 John 5.

1 John 4. 2, 3 and 2 John 7.

2 John 1 and 3 John 1.

2 John 4 and 3 John 3, 4.

2 John 12 and 3 John 13, 14.

In First John two themes are intertwined: Belief in the Son and Love of the Brethren.

In First John and Second John occasion was taken to warn against an error that was being taught, presumably in Asia Minor, to the effect that Christ had not really come in the flesh, that there had been no complete incarnation. A similar teaching was held by Cerinthus, who believed that a heavenly being united with Jesus at his baptism and left

him before his death. It is, therefore, frequently held that the writer of these two epistles was opposing the Cerinthian heresy.

Third John sought hospitality for a friend of the writer and warned against a domineering Christian official who was named.

Contents of First John. Chapter 1—In the living fellowship with the Father and the Son we are in light and truth, having been cleansed from former sinfulness, upon confession, by the blood (sacrifice) of Jesus Christ.

Chapter 2—The readers are exhorted to live without sin, for knowledge of God and love of God are proven by obedience. They are exhorted to love one another and thus keep in the light. Hatred of the brethren is darkness. The love of the Father and the love of the world are incompatible. The latter is transitory. Then follow warnings against antichrists. The anointing from the Holy One gives one the heavenly instinct for truth, so that teaching is less needed. It is necessary to confess the Son as well as the Father.

Chapter 3—Those who do no sin and who love one another prove themselves to be the children of God, whose Son was manifested to destroy all wickedness. Love is life: hate is death: the way to please God is to do right and to believe on the Son. Love one another.

Chapter 4—There are diverse spirits and false prophets abroad, and their chief characteristic is that they deny the real bodily coming of Jesus Christ, in the flesh.

God gives his spirit to his own, and then we witness to Christ and love one another. Perfect love casteth out fear. Love of God is not compatible with hatred of the brethren.

Chapter 5—Life, freedom from sin, belief in Christ, obedience to the Father, the witness of the Spirit to truth, the love of God, love of the brethren—all the themes of the epistle are here in an interlocking summary.

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Trace the similarities to each other and to the Gospel of John of these three epistles.
 2. What are chief differences among these epistles?
 3. Where may they have originated?
 4. What are the main themes of First John?
 5. Read ch. 5 and give the summary of the teaching.
 6. Show how the style of language and thought in First John mark it as from the same school as the Gospel of John.
 7. What was the Cerinthian heresy, and why do we think that it was referred to in these epistles? Cite passages.
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CHAPTER XXI

THE REVELATION

THE Christian Church inherited from Judaism, with other things, the apocalyptic form of literature. It appears even in Paul's writings. The passage in 2 Thess 2. 1-12 is often called the Pauline apocalypse. This passage presents the idea of a future conflict between God and the powers of evil, ending in a sudden, supernatural victory of God. Mark 13 and parallel passages also contain apocalyptic elements and are sometimes called the gospel apocalypse. It is even suggested by some that Mark 13. 7, 8, 14-20, 24-27, 30 and 31 are directly borrowed by the Christian editor from Jewish sources. The chapter is full of apocalyptic ideas and figures drawn from the older writings. There will be a severe persecution of the servants of God, followed by the supernatural overthrow of the powers of evil, and the coming of the kingdom of God; and all this will take place before very long. It was natural that Christianity should borrow this literature, for it expressed the hope of the Messianic age; and when persecutions of the Christians arose, and the church stood in need of the encouragement which apocalypse was able to furnish, Christian writings of this nature appeared. The only one which found a place in the New Testament was that ascribed to John.

The question about this book which has been discussed most vehemently, is one of little real importance—that of authorship. The book has been ascribed to John the apostle. This brings it within the range of that most tangled problem of the New Testament, the Johannine problem. The writer of the fourth Gospel was also held to be the apostle John.

There are, however, almost insuperable objections to the supposition that the two books come from the same writer. The Greek used, the style, the content of thought, the doctrines all differ so much that even if the writing of the two books is put years apart, there is still grave difficulty in supposing a common author. If the Gospel is denied to John the apostle, then room is left for the possibility that he may be the author of Revelation. Those who held that John wrote the Gospel frequently assigned the Revelation to a John the Presbyter, a name which rests upon rather slight ancient tradition. To the student familiar with the nature of apocalypse, the fact that the book is assigned to John creates a presumption that John did not write it, but that the name was a pseudonym. All the other apocalyptic writings, Jewish and Christian, are assigned to the names of notable worthies in the past—Enoch, Noah, Daniel, Ezra—and there is a Christian apocalypse of Peter. What more natural than that the name of the well-known disciple, John, should also be used in this way by a Christian apocalypticist? If the Revelation is written by the person whose name stands at its head, it is an exception to all other known apocalyptic writing. Who wrote it makes little difference.

The book divides into two parts: A. Letters to the churches, with an introduction, chs. 1 to 3. B. Apocalyptic visions, chs. 4 to 22. The second part is more difficult to subdivide. Chapters 4 and 5 are the introduction, setting forth the background for the visions which are to follow. Chapters 19 to 22 are the conclusion, a picture of the final triumph of God over evil. The intermediate chapters are occupied with a series of visions, connected with the symbolism of seals opened, trumpets sounded, bowls poured out, with interpolated visions not closely connected with the rest. A wide variety of outlines have been suggested, and it may be doubted whether the author intended to arrange all of his book on a logical plan. An outline may be made according to the figures used: (1) Apocalypse of the seven seals,

5. 1 to 8. 1; (2) Of the seven trumpets, 8. 2 to 11. 19; (3) Of the dragon, 12; (4) of the beasts, 13 and 14; (5) of the seven bowls, 15 and 16; (6) of final victory, 17 to 22.

A simpler division is:

I. Chapters 4 and 5—The introductory vision.

II. Four divisions, each repeating the apocalyptic range of thought—suffering, conflict, victory: (1) chs. 6 and 7; (2) chs. 8 to 11; (3) chs. 12 to 15; (4) chs. 15. 1 to 19. 10.

III. Figures of final victory: 19. 11 to 22. 5.

IV. Final notes: 22. 6-21.

Even this arrangement, however, leaves the content confused. This book is very different from Daniel, with its clear divisions. Revelation presents a series of dissolving pictures, each of which melts into the next. Nor are the pictures taken together a unity. They neither agree with each other, nor do they make a progressive course of thought. They are a loosely connected series of apocalyptic scenes.

The use of apocalyptic phraseology shows the long growth of this kind of literature. Many of the figures used in apocalypse had come to have a definite meaning; beast for the enemies of Israel, the sun and moon darkened for God's battle against his foes; the new heavens and earth for his final triumph, etc. The Christian use of these figures only changes their application from Jewish to Christian. Some terms have lost their meaning. The three times and a half in Daniel, for example, had a very definite meaning; here it is used (11. 3, 11, 12. 6, 14) only to mean a brief time. To one familiar with apocalyptic language it is plain that the book presents the same ideas under various figures, making its impression, as does Daniel, not by a progress of thought from beginning to end, but by repetition of ideas. This accounts for the congeries of figures—thrones and bowls and beasts and dragons and wildernesses and trumpets and books and angels and temples and altars and thunders

and horses and blood and battles and rivers and stars—a kaleidoscope of figures, but each having a traditional meaning in apocalyptic literature. Yet with all the variety there is a unity in the book, shown in its purpose of encouragement, in its style, in the arrangement by sevens, and in the appropriateness of chs. 17 to 22 as closing chapters.

The book reflects a time of danger and persecution. Many Christians were already martyrs. The great powers of the world were arrayed against the people of God, who, unable to resist, must suffer in patience till God comes to their aid. The purpose of the book is the common apocalyptic purpose of encouragement in danger.

1. Chapter 1 is a prologue, in the form of a vision of the Son of man, who commissions the writer to give a message to the churches. Notice how the writer, like Ezekiel, introduces his book with symbols of the glory and power of God, here represented by the Messiah. This power forms the ground of the confidence in the ultimate victory of God over evil.

2. Chapters 2 and 3 are letters to seven churches in the Roman province of Asia, and reveal the locality in which the book took final form. The letters contain warning and encouragement, and are not apocalypse, though using some apocalyptic symbols.

3. Chapters 4 and 5 form an introduction to the visions which follow. Like the prologue, its chief impression is that Jesus is the glory and power of God. The Messiah will open a book of the revelation of things to come, so that his followers may be assured of his final victory.

4. Chapters 6 and 7. The book of disclosures begins to be unsealed; but the first seals when opened reveal, not triumph, but trouble, conquest and slaughter, famine and death. The martyrs slain in this persecution cry to God for vengeance, and, in God's own time, vengeance comes—disaster to his foes and salvation and triumph to his faithful people.

5. Chapters 8 to 11 repeat figures of vengeance, closing with another picture of the final triumph. Chapter 11 deals with Jerusalem. There is a threat of pagan power over it for three and a half years, as in Daniel, while Jehovah sends his witnesses (Elijah and Moses or Enoch) as Zechariah and Malachi prophesied. They will be killed, but brought to life again, the city judged, and the temple opened, not in Jerusalem, but in heaven, with songs ascribing victory to Christ. This chapter differs in form from the rest of the book. Its reference to Jerusalem as opposed to God's witness and under heathen domination may point to its origin as a Christian oracle against Jerusalem during or just previous to its siege by the Roman army in 70-73.

6. Chapters 12 to 14 present still other symbols of persecution, of conflict between God and his foes, and of final conquest by Christ. The figures of the dragon and its fight with mother and son may have come from ancient Babylonian myths of the conflict at creation between the dragon of Chaos and the sun-god who created the world. Jewish thought could easily use such symbols of conflict and victory to mean the battle between the supernatural powers of good and evil and the final victory of the Messiah, whom Satan would try to destroy even at his birth. In Christian hands the figure of the triumphant Messiah becomes still more definite, and the child and the goddess-mother perhaps both mean the Christian Church. The figure of the beast in ch. 13 is another independent piece of symbolism, drawn from Dan 7 and 8. In apocalypse, beasts usually denoted non-Jewish empires, and horns, sections of the empires, or kings. This fact, together with references to the demand for worship, make it probably that the beast means Rome, with its emperor-worship. The writer gives the key to this vision at its end, in the number 666; but to modern readers the explanation has been only a further puzzle, increased by the fact that some ancient authorities give 616. The number must be the sum of the numerical significance

of the letters of some term in Greek, or more probably in Hebrew, in both of which languages letters of the alphabet were used for numerals. The Greek for "The Latin Kingdom" has been suggested, and the Hebrew for "the chaos of old"; but the favorite suggestion has been the Hebrew for Nero Cæsar. It requires an unusual spelling; otherwise Nero fits the symbolism very well, even to the report (v. 12) that he was still living in the East and would return to plague the empire again. If Nero is meant, the date for this section is about 68.

7. Chapters 15. 1 to 19. 10 contain symbols of destruction and victory, in which Rome, sometimes under the name of Babylon, is regarded as the great opposing power. Some of the symbols are traditional apocalyptic terms, but occasionally historic references can be traced, as the threat of Parthian invasion from beyond the Euphrates in 16. 12. Chapter 17 is rich in detailed references which point to Rome, on her seven hills. The same symbolism refers to seven kings (vv. 10, 11) with an eighth, "one of the seven." This, with 13. 12, is often referred to the common belief in the return of Nero. Verse 10 was written under the sixth Roman emperor, but it is not certain whether the author begins with Julius Cæsar or Augustus, nor whether he omits the short reigns of Otho, Galba, and Vitellus. Perhaps v. 10 comes from Vespasian's reign, 69-79, and v. 11 was added in Domitian's reign, after 81. Chapter 18 is a song of doom, based on Ezek 26 and 27 and Isa 47. Chapter 19. 1-10 is a song of triumph over the final victory. Chapter 18 marks a time when the Christian hate of Rome had become very bitter. It is usually put after the adoption of a settled policy of opposition to Christianity, which dates from about 81, in Domitian's reign.

8. The final section, 19. 11 to 22. 21, consists of pictures of the ultimate triumph of God and the blessedness of the faithful. The Messiah as a warrior will overthrow Rome; then Satan himself will fall, and in place of kingdoms of

evil, God will set up his own kingdom, symbolized by a new Jerusalem, a heavenly city set upon a renewed earth, where sin, sorrow, and darkness can never come.

This section is the most beautiful passage that apocalypse ever produced. It is not a description of heaven, but of a purified earth, in which only right will rule. Its modern correlative is the conception of a perfect society, without misery or sin. As this writer, living under the threat of martyrdom, dreamed of a triumphant Christianity only a little time in the future, it is no wonder that he was stirred to an almost poetic expression of his hopes and ideals.

The book closes with an epilogue, whose last word is the encouragement that the fall of Rome and the coming of the Messianic kingdom will be soon. It is plain that the book does not all come from the same date. Some of it must be dated about 68; other portions at least before 70; most of the book after 81; the letters to the churches perhaps after 100. This means that the book must be a compilation, coming from different sources and edited perhaps in the persecutions under Trajan in 112.

It is possible that some of the book may be Jewish apocalypse, borrowed and edited for Christian uses. Where the Christian references stand in no vital relation to the thought of a passage, it is easy to regard them as editorial interpolations in an originally Jewish apocalypse. Jewish passages may be 7. 1 to 9, with its list of Hebrew tribes; 11. 1 to 13, with its two witnesses; chs. 12, 13, and 18, which for the most part fit Jewish ideas more easily than Christian. There is no universally accepted theory of the composition of the book. Various theories are held: (1) a Jewish work with Christian additions; (2) a Christian work, but with some borrowed Jewish sections; (3) a series of Christian apocalypses, edited by later Christians; (4) a Christian work with previous Christian and Jewish apocalypses freely used. There is, however, a practical unanimity in holding that (a) there is some Jewish material in the

book; (b) some Christian material from about 68; (c) some Christian material from after 81; (d) the whole wrought into a unity, along with other new matter, not later than 112.

The value of Revelation does not depend on questions of authorship or composition, though conclusions on these subjects will affect many details of interpretation. The literary value lies in the great amount of apocalyptic symbolism, in the vigor of certain passages, like the song of doom over "Babylon," and most of all in the beautiful pictures of final triumph, under the figure of the new heavens and the new earth. The religious value lies, as in all apocalyptic, primarily in its encouragement in the time of trouble. However dark the present, still,

"Standeth God within the shadow, keeping watch above his own."

TOPICS AND ASSIGNMENTS

1. Study 2 Thess 2. 1-12, Mark 13, for (1) meaning of figures, (2) apocalyptic ideas, (3) suggestions of length of time before the events are expected.
2. Read, if possible at one time, Rev 4 to 21, to find its elements of unity. What is the strongest impression which the book makes?
3. In chs. 2 and 3, what evidences of persecution of the Christians? What were the faults and the virtues of the churches? Were they those which mark the early years of the churches' founding, or a later period? Bearing of this on the date of these chapters?
4. Read one of the sections (1) 6 and 7, (2) 8 to 11, (3) 12 to 14, (4) 15 to 19. 10, noting the meaning of the figures, the apocalyptic ideas, and the main thought expressed by the section as a whole.
5. Compare the figures in 13 with those in Dan 7 and 8.
6. Compare ch. 18 with Ezek 26 and 27, and Isa 47, for wording and ideas.
7. What are the main ideas in the picture of final triumph, 19. 11 to 21. 21?
8. Has Revelation any present religious value? If so, what?

APPENDIX

BOOKS FOR REFERENCE

It is the intention to provide a working book-list rather than a bibliography. The more general treatises usually precede the special works.

For any library a good Bible dictionary is an essential. The one to be preferred is the Hastings Dictionary of the Bible, five volumes, published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, and usually referred to by H. D. B. The price is \$6 a volume. There is a single-volume dictionary also by the same editor and publishers costing \$5. Useful works are the Standard Dictionary of the Bible, in one volume, published by Funk & Wagnalls; The Encyclopedia Britannica, the last two editions; The Encyclopedia Biblica, New York, the Macmillan Company, four volumes; The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, twelve volumes, edited by Hastings and published by Charles Scribner's Sons.

Every work mentioned in this list is in English. Extensive bibliographies will be found in the books noted below.

HISTORICAL WORKS

- R. W. Rogers: A History of Babylonia and Assyria. Two volumes. New York, Eaton & Mains. \$5.
- J. H. Breasted: A History of the Ancient Egyptians. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.
- J. H. Breasted: A History of Egypt; similar to above, large, illustrated, \$5.
- L. B. Paton: Early History of Syria and Palestine. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.
- G. A. Smith: Historical Geography of the Holy Land. New York, Armstrong. \$4.50.
- R. Kittel: History of the Hebrews. Two volumes. London, Williams & Norgate. Per volume, 10s. 6d.
- H. P. Smith: Old Testament History. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.
- C. H. Cornill: History of the People of Israel. Chicago, Open Court Publishing Co. \$1.50.
- C. F. Kent: A History of the Hebrew People. Two volumes. Each \$1.50. A History of the Jewish People. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

- G. W. Wade: *Old Testament History*. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co. \$1.50.
- K. Budde: *Religion of Israel to the Exile*. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.
- T. K. Cheyne: *Jewish Religious Life After the Exile*. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.
- C. F. Kent: *Biblical Geography and History*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.
- E. Bevan: *Jerusalem Under the High Priests*. London, Edward Arnold. 7s. 6d.
- E. Schürer: *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*. Five volumes. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. \$8.
- Shailer Mathews: *A History of the New Testament Times in Palestine*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 75 cents.
- A. C. McGiffert: *A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.
- J. H. Ropes: *The Apostolic Age in the Light of Modern Criticism*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.
- J. V. Bartlet: *The Apostolic Age*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.
- C. W. Votaw: *The Apostolic Age*. New York, The Macmillan Company. 75 cents.
- W. M. Ramsay: *St. Paul the Traveler and the Roman Citizen*. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$3.
- G. H. Gilbert: *The Student's Life of Paul*. New York, The Macmillan Company. \$1.25.
- E. D. Burton: *The Records and Letters of the Apostolic Age*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50. (Interweaving the Epistles with Acts.)
- Sanders and Fowler: *Outlines of Biblical History and Literature*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.
- Certain leading Introductions to the Old and New Testaments are indispensable for the teacher and for reference. A short list of such follows:
- S. R. Driver: *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.
- Bennett and Adeney: *A Biblical Introduction*. New York, Thomas Whitaker. \$2.
- C. H. Cornill: *Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament*. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$3.
- C. F. Kent: *The Student's Old Testament*. Six volumes. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. Per volume. \$2.75.

- C. F. Kent: *The Historical Bible*. Six volumes. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. Per volume, \$1.
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